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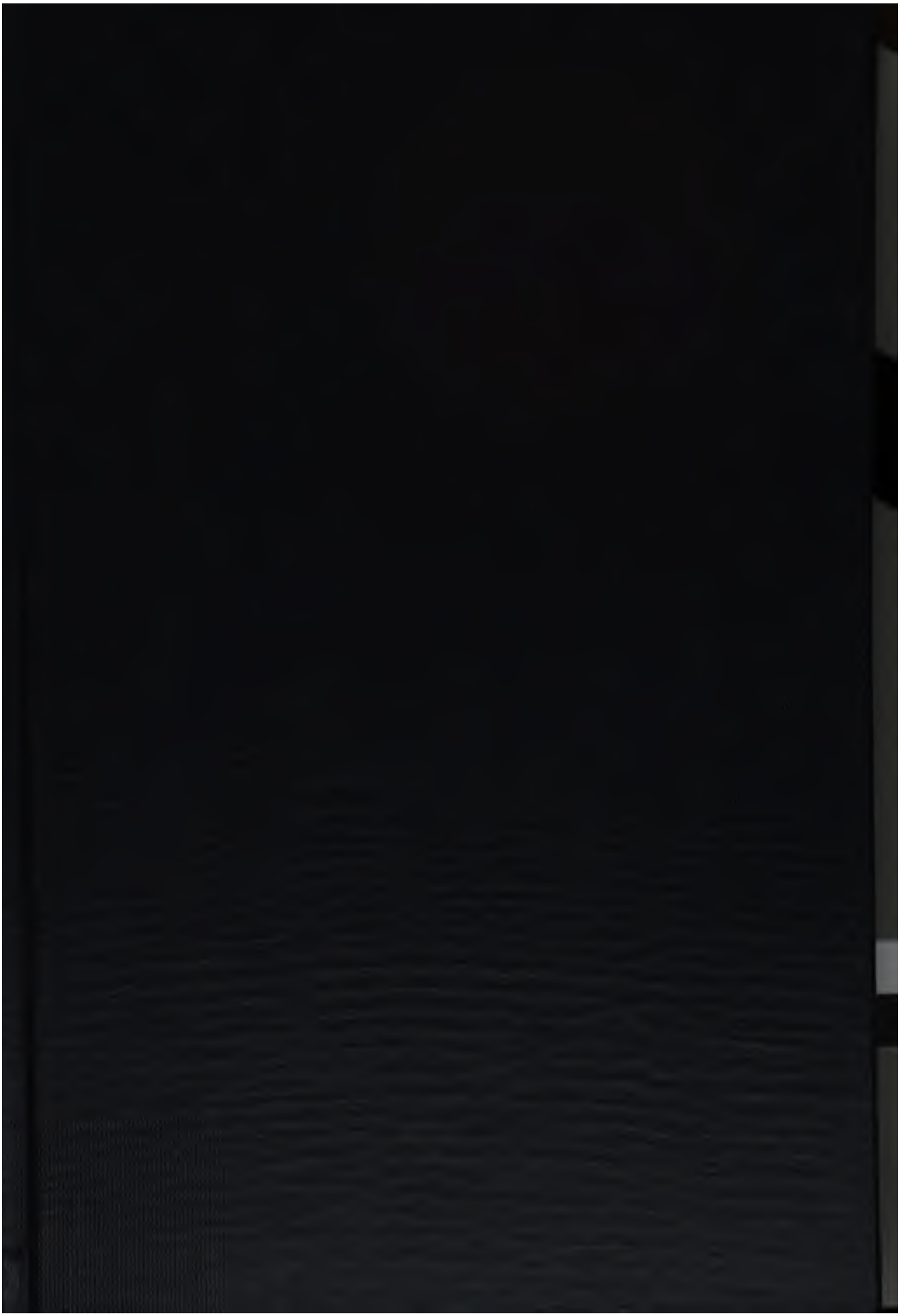

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THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OU

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THE

TRIBES AND CASTES

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

BY

W. CROOKE, B.A.,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

MUCH has been already written about the Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. The long series of such books begins with the famous "Supplementary Glossary" of Sir H. M. Elliot. Then comes Mr. Sherring's valuable account of the people, principally based on enquiries in Benares. For Oudh we have Sir C. A. Elliott's "Chronicles of Unâo," Mr. Benett's "Clans of Râê Bareli," and Mr. Carnegy's "Notes." Besides these there is a large body of literature on the subject, such as Mr. Growse's "Mathura," Mr. Atkinson's Chapters in the "Himâlayan Gazetteer," General Cunningham's "Archæological Reports," General Sleeman's "Rambles and Recollections" and "Journey in Oudh," Mr. Greeven's researches about sweepers, and a great mass of miscellaneous memoirs included in the Settlement Reports, District Gazetteers, "Indian Antiquary," "Calcutta Review," and other periodical literature. The notes in the present book will show how much I am indebted to the researches of my predecessors in the same line of enquiry.

It is again fortunate that a long series of valuable books has been devoted to the races on the boundaries of these Provinces; for it must be remembered that these frontiers are purely geographical and not ethnical.

Thus we have a large mass of information collected by Mr. Risley, Mr. O'Donnell and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton for Behâr, by Colonel Dalton for Chota Nâgpur, by Mr. Hislop for the Central Indian tribes, by Colonel Tod and Sir J. Malcolm for Râjputâna, and by Mr. Ibbetson and Mr. Maclagan for the Panjab. Of all these authorities it will be seen that I have made ample use.

This book so far differs from any previous account of the races of these Provinces that it attempts to supply some more detailed information regarding their manners, customs, marriage institutions and religion. It is perhaps well that this task should be essayed now, however imperfect and unsatisfactory the present venture may be. There can be little doubt that caste is undergoing at present a process of transition. The Dravidian races who skirt the great Ganges-Jumna valleys are becoming rapidly Brâhmanized, and will probably in a few years have lost much of what is peculiar to them and interesting to the Ethnologist and student of the development of popular religion. Even now our Kols, Kharwârs Cheros and Mânjhis are much less primitive people than their brethren, whose manners and institutions have been analysed by Colonel Dalton, Mr. Risley and Mr. Hislop. The improvement of communications, the facility for visits to the sacred shrines of Hinduism, the Brâhmanical propaganda preached by those most active of all missionaries—the Panda and the Purohit, the Jogi and the Sannyâsi—will before long obliterate much of the primitive ideas which they still retain though in a modified form. A long service spent in Mirzapur, the

last refuge of the Dravidian races, has, I trust, enabled me to supply some new facts regarding these interesting people.

For the races of the plains I have based my account of them on a series of notes collected throughout the Provinces by a number of independent enquirers, both official and non-official, whose services were made available by the District Officers. The work could not have been even attempted without much cordial co-operation on the part of District Officers and a large body of native gentlemen to whose generosity in devoting some of their scanty leisure to this investigation it is impossible for me to do full justice. At the opening of each article I have been careful to name the gentlemen to whose aid I am indebted.

There are some special causes which make an enquiry of this kind a work of more than usual difficulty. There is, first, the reticence of the lower castes which must be overcome before they can be induced to yield the secrets of their tribal organisation and religious life. To the average rustic the advent of a stranger, note-book in hand, who interrogates them on such subjects, suggests a possibility that he may have some ulterior objects in connection with a coming Revenue Settlement or Income Tax assessment. It requires no ordinary amount of tact and temper to overcome this barrier; and there is besides among the lower castes an uneasy suspicion that rites and ritual, which in the eyes of the average Brâhman are boorish and a survival of a degraded savagery, are a matter to be ashamed of and

concealed. Mr. Greeven's experiences in connection with the sweepers of the Eastern Districts, whose sociology he has so carefully explored, are an ample proof of this. In connection with this there is another source of difficulty in the movement which has sprung up among many castes towards claiming a higher status than is usually accorded to them. The Shâstras and other religious literature of the Brâhmans have in recent years been ransacked by a number of castes whose so-called Aryan origin is more than doubtful to support a claim to kindred with races whose descent is universally admitted. Lastly, as the local patois varies from district to district, the manners and customs of the various castes vary from one end of the Province to the other. Hence care has been taken to guard as far as possible from general statements. A custom or a mode of worship prevailing among a caste in Sahâranpur or Ballia may or may not extend as far as Aligarh on one side or Allahâbâd on the other. The exact habitat, so to speak, of those usages or beliefs can be worked out only by the associated enquiries of a much larger number of investigators. The Subject Index which has been prepared may, it is hoped, be useful from this point of view.

I have specially to acknowledge the valuable work done by Surgeon-Captain H. E. Drake-Brockman in connection with Anthropometry, the results of which are given in the Introduction, where I have endeavoured to sum up in a general way some of the more obvious facts in connection with the origin of caste and some other sociological problems.

No one can undertake with a light heart such an enquiry as this connected with a population aggregating nearly forty-eight millions of souls; and, at the outset had I been fully aware of the difficulty of such a survey, I should have hesitated to undertake a work which has been carried out all through side by side with the multifarious duties of a District Officer. I shall be quite satisfied if the following pages supply a useful basis for further investigation; and, as the most satisfactory recognition of my work, I can only ask all interested in the matter to favour me with any corrections and criticisms which may tend to a greater degree of completeness and accuracy. I have avoided, as far as possible, the discussion of topics which are likely only to cause pain to sections of the people whose pretensions to a higher rank or origin are, to say the least, disputed.

The illustrations are reproductions of photographs taken at Mirzapur by Sergeant Wallace, R. E., of the Rurki College.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

The Origin of Caste.

THERE are few questions within the whole sphere of Indian sociology which present more difficulty than those connected with the origin of caste. If the native of the country has any idea whatever on the subject, it is sufficient for him to refer to a mass of texts which are, it is hardly necessary to say, of little or no scientific value. They merely record the views of various priestly schools from whom there is strong reason to believe that the system, as we now observe it, originated. It is on lines quite different from these that any real enquiry into the subject must proceed. It may be well here to give at starting the religious form which the tradition has assumed.

2. To begin with the Veda. In the hymns, the most ancient portion of it, we find the famous verse,—"When they divided man, how many did they make him? What was his mouth? What his arms? What are called his thighs and feet? The Brâhmana was his mouth, the Râjanya was made his arms, the Vaisya became his thighs, the Sûdra was born from his feet."[1] "European critics,"

Caste in the Veda.

[1] *Rig Veda*, X., 90; 6, 7.

says Professor Max Müller,[1] "are able to show that even this verse is of later origin than the great mass of the hymns, and that it contains modern words, such as Sûdra and Râjanya, which are not found again in the other hymns of the Rig Veda. Yet it belongs to the ancient collection of the Vedic hymns, and if it contained anything in support of caste, as it is now understood, the Brâhmans would be right in saying that caste formed part of their religion and was sanctioned by their sacred writings." But he goes on to say :—"If, then, with all the documents before us, we ask the question,—Does caste, as we find it in Manu and at the present day, form part of the most ancient religious teaching of the Vedas? We can answer with a decided 'No.' There is no authority whatever in the hymns of the Veda for the complicated system of castes; no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Brâhmans; no authority for the degraded position of the Sûdras. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together, from eating and drinking together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes: no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma."[2]

3. We do read that men are said to be distinguished into five sorts or classes, or literally five men or beings (*Pancha Kṛitayah*). "The commentator explains this to mean the four castes—Brâhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya

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[1] *Chips from a German Workshop*, II., 312.

[2] *Ibid*, 211, Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 17 *sq.*

and Sûdra and the barbarous or Nishâda. But Sâyana, of course, expresses the received impressions of his own age. We do not meet with the denomination Kshatriya or Sûdra in any text of the first book, nor with that of Vaisya, for *vis*, which does occur, is a synonym of man in general. Brâhman is met with, but in what sense is questionable."[1]

4. We do, of course, in the Veda meet with various trades and handicrafts which had even in this early age become differentiated. Thus in the ninth book of the Rig Veda we have the famous passage which has been thus translated :—

"How various are the views which different men inspire!
How various are the ends which men of different craft desire!
The leech a patient seeks; the smith looks out for something cracked.
The priest seeks devotees from whom he may his fee extract.
With feathers, metal and the like, and sticks decayed and old,
The workman manufactures wares to coin the rich man's gold.
A poet I, my sire a leech, and corn my mother grinds:
On gain intent we each pursue our trades of different kinds." [2]

5. The present system of castes cannot, in fact, be dated before the time of Manu's "Institutes" which "was originally a local code, embodying rules and precepts, perhaps by different authors, some of whom may have lived in the 5th Century B. C., others in the 2nd Century B. C., and others even later. It was at first current among a particular tribe of Brâhmans,

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[1] Wilson, *Rig Veda, Introduction*, XLIII., I., 20.

[2] The translation is from the *North British Review*, L., 521, *note*.

called Mânavas, who probably occupied part of the North-Western regions between the rivers Sâraswati and Drishadvati, but afterwards became generally adopted."[1]

6. As to the effect of these laws it may be well again to quote Professor Max Müller.[2] "After the victorious return of the Brâhmans the old laws of caste were re-enacted more vigorously than ever, and the Brâhmans became again what they had been before the rise of Buddhism, the terrestrial gods of India. A change, however, had come over the system of caste. Though the laws of Manu still spoke of four castes—of Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sûdras—the social confusion during the long reign of Buddhism had left but one broad distinction: on the one hand the pure caste of the Brâhmans: on the other the mixed and impure castes of the people. In many places the pure castes of the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas had become extinct, and those who could not prove their Brâhmanic descent were all classed together as Sûdras. At present we should look in vain for pure Kshatriyas or Vaisyas in India, and the families which still claim these titles would find it difficult to produce their pedigree, nay, there are few who could lay claim to the pure blood of the Sûdra. Low as the Sûdra stood in the system of Manu, he stood higher than most of the mixed castes, the Varnasankaras. The son of a Sûdra by a Sûdra woman is purer than the son of a Sûdra by a

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[1] Monier Williams, *loc. cit.*, 51 *sq.*

[2] *Loc. cit.*, 345 *sq.*

woman of the highest caste (Manu, X., 30). Manu calls the Chandâla one of the lowest outcastes, because he is the son of a Sûdra father and a Brâhmanic mother. He evidently considered the mésalliance of a woman more degrading than that of a man. For the son of a Brâhman father and a Sûdra mother may in the seventh generation raise his father to the highest caste (Manu, X., 64), while the son of a Sûdra father and a Brâhman mother belongs for ever to the Chandâlas."

7. And the same writer goes on to say :—

"Manu represents, indeed, all the castes of Hindu society, and their number is considerable, as the result of mixed marriages between the four original castes. According to him the four primitive castes by intermarrying in every possible way gave rise to sixteen mixed castes, which by continuing their inter-marriages produced the long list of the mixed castes. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether Manu meant to say that at all times the offspring of a mixed marriage had to enter a lower caste. He could not possibly maintain that the sons of a Brâhman father and a Vaisya mother would always be a physician or Vaidya, this being the name given by Manu to the offspring of these two castes. At present the offspring of a Sûdra father and a Brâhman mother would find no admission in any respectable caste. Their marriage would not be considered marriage at all. The only rational explanation of Manu's words seems to be that originally the Vaidyas or physicians sprang from the union of a Brâhman father and a Vaisya mother, though this, too, is of course nothing but a

fanciful theory. If we look more carefully we shall find that most of these mixed castes are in reality the professions, trades and guilds of a half-civilised society. They did not wait for mixed marriages before they came into existence. Professions, trades and handicrafts had grown up without any reference to caste in the ethnological or political sense of the word. Some of their names were derived from towns and countries where certain professions were held in particular estimation. Servants who waited on ladies were called Vaidehas, because they came from Videha, the Athens of India, just as the French call the "porteur d'eau" a "Savoyard." To maintain that every member of the caste of the Vaidehas, in fact, every lady's maid, had to be begotten through the marriage of a Vaisya and a Brâhmani, is simply absurd. In other cases the names of Manu's castes were derived from their occupations. The caste of musicians, for instance, were called Venas from *vîna*, the lyre. Now, it was evidently Manu's object to bring these professional corporations in connection with the old system of castes, assigning to each, according to its higher or lower position, a more or less pure descent from the original castes. The Vaidyas, for instance, or the physicians, evidently a respectable corporation, were represented as the offspring of a Brâhman father and a Vaisya mother, while the guild of the fishermen, or Nishâdas, were put down as the descendants of a Brâhman father and a Sûdra mother. Manu could hardly mean to say that every son of a Vaisya father and Kshatriya mother was obliged to become a commercial travel-

ler, or to enter the caste of the Magadhas. How could that caste have been supplied after the extinction in many places of the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes? But having to assign to the Magadhas a certain social position, Manu recognised them as the descendants of the second and third castes, in the same way as the Herald's office would settle the number of quarters of an earl or a baron."

8. Before leaving the consideration of caste as found in Manu's "Institutes," it may be noted that we find side by side two discrepant views as to the connubium of the orders. According to the milder, and apparently the older view, caste is determined by descent from the father, and a Dvija or twice-born man may take a wife from among Brâhmans, Kshatriyas or Vaisyas. With a Sûdra woman alone he could not intermarry. By the other view a man was advised to marry a virgin of his own caste as his first wife, and after that he may proceed according to the rank of the castes. There is some reason to believe that under this rule he might take even a Sûdra woman as a second wife.[1] This, it is needless to say, represents a very different state of things from that which prevails under the modern rigid law of caste endogamy.

Caste subsequent to Manu.

9. It was caste in or about the stage of its development exhibited in the "Institutes" of Manu which Megasthenes, first of all

[1] *Institutes*, III., 13—15; 44: IX., 22. 24; 85—87: III., 16—19: X., 5. 6; 10—15: with Dunèker's comments. *History of Antiquity*, IV., 245 *sq.*

the barbarians, observed in his embassy to the court of Sandrocottus or Chandragupta (306—298 B. C.). He found seven, not four, castes—the philosophers, husbandmen, shepherds, artizans, soldiers, inspectors and counsellors of the king. The philosophers were the Brâhmans, and the traveller indicates the prescribed stages of the Brâhmanical life. He distinguishes the Brachmanes from the Sarmanai, the latter of whom are supposed to represent the Buddhist Sramanas or monks, while the inspectors were the Buddhist supervisors of morals, afterwards referred to in the sixth edict of Asoka.

10. This hasty survey of the historical development of caste sufficiently disposes of the popular theory that caste is a permanent institution, transmitted unchanged from the dawn of Hindu history and myth.

Caste not peculiar to Hinduism.

11. Another and even graver misconception is to suppose that caste is peculiar to Hinduism and connected in some peculiarly intimate way with the Hindu faith. It is needless to say that caste as an institution is not confined to Indian soil. The Zendavasta shows that the early Persian community was divided into three castes or tribes, of which one lived by hunting, a second by grazing flocks, and the third by agriculture. "In this respect also," says Herodotus,[1] "the Lacedaemonians resemble the Egyptians: their heralds, musicians and cooks succeed to their fathers' professions: so that a musician is son to a musician, a cook, of a cook, and a herald, of a herald: nor do others, on

[1] *Erato*, 60.

account of the clearness of their voice, apply themselves to this profession and exclude others; but they continue to practise it after their fathers." This occupational or hereditary guild system of caste, which, as will be seen, was the most important factor in the development of this institution, prevailed and still prevails, as a matter of fact, all the world over. Nor is caste confined to votaries of the Hindu faith. On the contray it is in its nature much more social than religious. It has been one of the most perplexing problems which beset the Christian Missionary to reconcile the restrictions of caste with the perfect liberty of Christianity. Islâm has boldly solved the difficulty by recognising and adopting caste in its entirety. Not only does the converted Râjput, Gùjar or Jât remain a member of his original sept or section; but he preserves most of those restrictions on social intercourse, intermarriage and the like, which make up the peasant's conception of caste. As Mr. Ibbetson remarks,—"Almost the only difference which the convert makes is to shave his scalplock and the upper edge of his moustache, to repeat the Muhammadan creed in a mosque, and to add the Muhammadan to the Hindu marriage ceremony. As far a religion goes he worships Khuda instead of Parameswar, keeps up his service in honor of Bhawâni, and regularly makes the due oblation for the repose of the sainted dead." On the other hand, as will be seen everywhere in the course of the present survey, the members of orthodox Hindu castes worship the quintette of the Pânch Pîr, or famous local saints like Miyân or Mîrân Sâhib, Shâh Madâr or Sakhi Sarwar.

12. By another popular theory caste is eternal and immutable. The ordinary Hindu will say that it has always existed, that it is based on what he calls the Shâstras, a vague body of religious literature of which he knows little more than the name. We have already shown that the vague reference to caste in the Vedas discloses the institution at a very different stage from what we see it in the "Institutes" of Manu or at the present day. Even in an age so comparatively recent as that of Manu, the rules of connubium and social life were very different from those which prevail at present. The modern Vaishnava, for instance, would shudder at the comparatively liberal permission given in these days for the use of meat.[1] But in addition to this we meet all through the range of Hindu history and myth with numerous illustrations of the mutability of caste. Thus in the Mahâbhârata Bhîma is married by his brother Yudhishthira to the Asura woman Hidimbi, and the marriage rites are regularly performed: while Draupadi, a Kshatriya girl, accepts as her husband at the Swayamvara Arjuna who pretends to be a Brâhman. Viswamitra, a Kshatriya by birth, compelled Brahma by the force of his austerities to admit him to the Brâhmanical order, so that he might be on a level with Vasishtha, with whom he had quarrelled.[2] It is even more significant to learn from the Mahâbhârata[3]

Caste not immutable.

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[1] *Institutes* V., 22 *sqq.*
[2] Wilson, *Rig Veda*, II., 319.
[3] III, 8026.

that all castes become Brâhmans when they have crossed the Gomati on a visit to the hermitage of Vasishtha, and we are told that the country of the five rivers is contemptible because there a Bahîka or Panjâbi "born a Brâhman becomes afterwards a Kshatriya, a Vaisya or a Sûdra, and eventually a barber." It would be easy to repeat examples of this kind almost indefinitely.[1]

Modern development of caste.

13. As regards the castes of the present day the case is similar. Instead of castes being a clearly-defined entity, an association complete in themselves, a trade guild the doors of which are rigidly barred against the admission of strangers, they are in a constant state of flux and flow. New endogamous groups are constantly being created, the process of fission is ever in operation, and what is more important still the *novus homo*, like his brethren all the world over, is constantly endeavouring to force his way into a higher grade and acquire the privileges of the "twice-born." This process is specially observable among the Gonds and other Dravidian races of the great hill country of Central India. Thus the RÂj Gonds who "in appearance obstinately retain the Turanian type, in aspiration are Hindus of the Hindus, wearing the sacred cord and carrying ceremonial refinements to the highest pitch of parvenu purism. Mr. Hislop says

[1] See *Vishnu Purâna*, *Book* IV., Cap. I., p. 359: Cap. XIX., p. 451: Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I., 222 *sqq.*; 227; 358; 426 *sqq.* Wilson, *Rig Veda*, I., 42 note: Essays, II., 309: Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, II., 339 *sq.* *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 58 *sq.*, and compare Rajendra Lala Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, II., 206.

that not content with purifying themselves, their houses, and their food, they must even sprinkle their faggots with water before using them for cooking. With all this exterior coating of the fashionable faith they seem, however, to retain an ineradicable taint of the old mountain superstitions. Some of these outwardly Brâhmanised chiefs still try to pacify the gods of their fathers for their apparent desertion of them by worshipping them in secret once every four or five years and by placing cow's flesh to their lips, wrapped in a cloth, so as not to break too openly with the reigning Hindu divinities."[1] And Captain Forsyth writes:—"In Gondwâna numerous chiefs claim either a pure descent from Râjput houses, or more frequently admit their remote origin to have sprung from a union between some Râjput adventurer of noble blood and one of the daughters of the aborigines. Few of them are admitted to be pure Râjputs by the blue blooded chiefs of Rajasthân: but all have their bards and genealogies."[2]

14. The same process of elevation of the aboriginal races has been going on for centuries throughout Northern India. To quote Mr. Nesfield[3]:—"Local traditions in Oudh and the North-Western Provinces abound in tales of Brâhmans being manufactured out of low caste men by Râjas when they could not find a sufficient number of hereditary Brâhmans to attend some sacrifice or

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[1] Grant, *Introduction, Central Provinces Gazetteer*, CX., *sq.*
[2] *Highlands of Central India*, 8.
[3] *Brief View*, 79.

feast. For example, the Kunda Brâhmans of Pârtâbgarh are said to have been manufactured by Râja Mânik Chand, because he was not able to collect the quorum of one hundred and twenty-five thousand Brâhmans to whom he had vowed to make a feast: in this way an Ahîr, a Kurmi or a Bhât found himself dubbed a Brâhman and invested with the sacred thread, and their descendants are Brâhmans to this day.[1] A similar tale is told of Tirgunait Brâhmans and Pâthaks of Amtara:[2] of the Pândê Parwârs in the Hardoi District: of the large clan called Sawalakhiyas in the Gorakhpur and Basti Districts, who have nevertheless assumed the high-sounding titles of Dûbê, Upâdhya, Tiwâri, Misra, Dikshit, Pândê, Awasthi and Pâthak.[3] Only about a century and-a-half ago a Luniya, or man of the salt-making class, which ranks decidedly low, was made a Brâhman by Râja Bhagwant Râê of Asothar, and this man is the ancestor of the Misra Brâhmans of Aijhi."[4]

Brâhmans an occupational group.

15. In fact there can be little doubt that the Brâhmans, so far from forming a homogeneous group, have been made up of very diverse elements, and this strongly confirms the occupational theory of their origin, to which reference will be made later on. There are grades of so-called Brâhmans which in appearance and function present little analogy to the pure bred Pandit of Benares or Mathura. Thus

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[1] *Oudh Gazetteer*, I., 305.
[2] *Ibid*, III., 229: I., 365.
[3] *Gazetteer, North-Western Provinces*, VI, 351, 2.
[4] *Ibid*, VIII., *Part* III., 40.

the Ojha Brâhman is the direct successor of the Dravidian Baiga, and of similar menial origin are probably many of those Brâhmans who live by begging, fortune-telling and the like, such as the Dakaut, Joshi, Barua or Husaini, and the Mahâbrâhman or funeral priest whose functions render him an abomination to all orthodox Hindus. The Bhuînhârs and Tagas, if they are really of genuine Brâhmanical descent, have in the same way differentiated themselves by function, and having abandoned priestly duties are agriculturists and landowners pure and simple. This separation of function must have prevailed from very early times, because it was specially laid down that each caste may adopt the occupation of another in case of distress, and thus a Brâhman may do the work of a Kshatriya or Vaisya, but not of a Sûdra.[1]

Occupational origin of the Râjputs.

16. Still less homogeneous is the mass of septs grouped under the name of Kshatriyas or Râjputs. We have already seen how the Dravidian Gond races have been in quite recent times enrolled as Râjputs. The Râja of Singrauli, in Mirzapur, nearly a pure Kharwâr, has within the last generation or two come to rank as a Benbansi Chhatri. Colonel Sleeman gives the case of an Oudh Pâsi, who within the memory of man became a Râjput by giving his daughter to a man of the Puâr sept.[2] The names of many septs again, such as the Baghel, Ahban, Kalhans, and Nâgbansi suggest a totemistic origin which would bring

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[1] Bühler. *Sacred Laws of the Aryans*, I., 209; 211: II., 12.

[2] *Journey through Oudh*, I., 213.

them in line with the Chandrabansi, who are promoted Dravidian Cheros and other similar septs of undoubtedly aboriginal race. Mr. Carnegy went perhaps too far in assuming a similar development of many of the Oudh septs; but the traditions of many of these, which will be found in the special articles dealing with them, such as the Bhâlê Sultân, Bisen, Chandel, Gaur, Kânhpuriya and Bandhalgoti, afford significant evidence that their claims to blue blood must be accepted with caution. The same inference arises from the fact, of which evidence is given elsewhere, of the impossibility of drawing the line between the Jât and Râjput of the Western Districts, and the Bhuînhâr and Chhatri of the East: in fact many of the septs of the latter claim indifferently to belong to both races, and some, like the Bisen, have an admitted Kurmi branch.

17. Among the Râjputs, again, this process of assimilation of lower races has been undoubtedly encouraged by the prevalence of female infanticide which renders it impossible for the poorer members of the race to obtain legitimately born brides. This has naturally led to cohabitation with women of inferior castes and the creation of definite classes of illegitimate Râjputs, such as the Gaurua of the Central and the degraded Chauhâns of the Upper Ganges-Jumna Duâb. A recent report on the outbreak of dacoity in the Agra and Rohilkhand Divisions shows that many of the perpetrators of these outrages were half-bred Râjputs, whose mothers were drawn from criminal or nomadic tribes like the Nat, Beriya, Sânsiya and the like, and the association of Râj-

put youths with women of this class has brought them into the companionship of their gypsy male relatives and driven them into a life of crime.

18. It is needless to say that the records of our courts swarm with examples of the association of men of the Râjput class with women of the lower races, and in this stratum of village society there is not even a pretence of moral continence. The effect of this state of things is obvious and requires no further illustration.

The occupational origin of the Vaisyas.

19. The same remarks largely apply to the so-called modern representatives of the Vaisya class, the aggregate of tribes now grouped under the general name of Banya. Some of these, such as the Agarwâlas and Oswâls, are in appearance perhaps among the best bred races of Northern India. Others are obviously occupational groups recruited from the lower races which have grouped themselves under the generic title of Banya or Mahâjan. The Bohra asserts Brâhmanical origin. Others again in name and function are in all probability connected with various classes of artizans—the Kasarwâni and Kasaundhan with the Kasera, the Lohiya with the Lohâr, and the same inference may perhaps be drawn from the grades of Dasa and Bîsa, "the tens" and "the twenties," which appear among the Agarwâlas, and can hardly indicate anything but a gradation in purity of descent.

The Sûdra group.

20. As to the congeries of castes known to the early Hindus as Sûdras we find all the varying grades of social respectability from industrious artisans and cultivators down to

vagrants like the Sânsya or Gandhîla and scavengers like the Dom or Bhangi. The word Sûdra has now no determinate meaning; it is merely used as a convenient term of abuse to designate persons who are, or are assumed to be, of degraded caste. It is probably a term derived from the languages of one of the inferior races.[1] As has been already remarked, it is a comparatively modern word and appears only once in the Rig Veda. It may have been a synonym for Dasyu, "those of the black skin," who represented the contrast between the aborigines and the conquering Aryans. The stress that is laid in the old hymns on the breadth of their noses would perhaps go to identify them with the broad-nosed Dravidians. But the accounts of their forts and cities show that when they came into contact with the writers of the Vedic hymns they had already attained a considerable degree of culture.

Anthropometry the only safe basis of enquiry.

21. The only safe criterion of the relation of these races to the so-called "twice-born" tribes can be gained from the evidence of anthropometry, which must be left for another chapter.

Summary of theories of origin of caste.

22. Meanwhile to sum up the results of these remarks—

(*a*) The Vedas, as we possess them, give no clear indication of any form of caste, except that of the occupational or trade guild type.

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[1] The derivation from the root *sucá* "to be afflicted" hardly deserves consideration.

(*b*) The first trace of modern caste is found in the "Institutes" of Manu: but here the rules of food, connubium and intercourse between the various castes are very different from what we find at present.

(*c*) Caste so far from being eternal and changeless is constantly subject to modification, and this has been the case through the whole range of Hindu myth and history.

(*d*) Caste is not an institution peculiar to Indian soil; but in its occupational form at least is widely prevalent elsewhere.

(*e*) Caste is in its nature rather a matter of sociology than of religion.

(*f*) The primitive so-called division of the people into Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sûdras does not agree with existing facts, and these terms do not now denote definite ethnological groups.

(*g*) The only trustworthy basis for the ethnological survey of Upper India must be based on anthropometry.

CHAPTER II.

ANTHROPOMETRY.

The following note on the subject of Anthropometry by Surgeon Captain Drake-Brockman is printed in original.

General Remarks.

"The following series of anthropometrical measurements of the castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh was taken and recorded by me under the auspices of the Local Government of these Provinces, who were kind enough to place the services of a competent clerk at my disposal to help in the work. In order to obtain as large a number as possible of representative castes, long distances have been travelled; only *males* of the age of 25 years and upwards have been selected as subjects for measurement on account of their mature physical development.

2. I have endeavoured, for purposes of classification, as well as for comparison, to group the different castes under three main divisions, *viz.*, *Aryan*, *Medium* and *Dravidian*: the Medium group of which contains a large number of castes which form, more or less, an intermediate type, and are not capable of being classified strictly under either of the other two main groups. The last group I have again sub-divided into two—(*a*) an *Hinduised* and (*b*) an *Aboriginal* section, to indicate more fully their status in the social scale. All the various sub-divisions and sections of the several castes have been included and shown under the head of the main caste to which they belong.

3. Altogether twenty-two measurements have been taken of each separate individual, and although of that number only a few are recognized by the most eminent authorities on the subject as being of any marked value in the distinction of race, still I think it would be well to generally compare all of the anthropometrical measurements before forming an opinion on the subject. At the end of this article a table will be found in which are given the averages and indices of each of the several measurements separately for each caste, the total number of subjects of all castes taken being 4,906.

4. A glance at the above-mentioned table will show the results, but I think it will be as well to roughly analyze the most important data as far as anthropometry is concerned, and then judge of the result of the enquiry as regards the castes of these Provinces.

5. With this object in view I purpose to take the *Nasal* and *Cephalic* indices and the Facial Angle (that of Cuvier being the one selected as being the most reliable on the living subject); and I think that the latter, which gives us more or less roughly the degree of prognathism, taken together with the *Nasal index*, will give us the best test possible.

The Nasal Index.

6. To commence then with the *Nasal index*, one of the best tests for racial distinction, we find at the top of the list a medium caste, the *Jât*, with a nasal index of 55, indicating a very leptorhine nose, followed by the *Brâhman* with a nasal index of 59: third on the list, strange to say, is the *Dhânuk*, a Dravidian caste, with

an average index of 61, the warlike *Rájput* being bracketed with the *Gadariya*, *Lohár*, and with an index of 64, and the cultivated *Káyasth*, many grades below, with an index of 67.

At the bottom of the list we find the Dravidian castes of the *Korwa* and *Musahar*, with an index of 75, and the *Agariya* with one of 77, all true Dravidians with more or less mesorhine noses.

Table of Nasal Indices.

Caste.	Average Index.	Caste.	Average Index.
Jât	55	Kâyasth	67
Brâhman	59		
Dhânuk	61	Korwa	75
Gûjar	62	Musahar	
Banya	63	Agariya	77
Dhobi			
Râjput	64		
Bâri			
Gadariya			
Lohâr			
Mâli			
Teli			
Khatik			
Koeri			
Nat, etc.			

The Cephalic Index.

7. Next taking the cephalic indices—on glancing the eye down the column containing these data, it will be seen that all the castes have cephalic indices, showing the formation of the head to be *dolicho-cephalic* without exception, those of the castes Dhânuk, Arakh, Nat and Kewat being slightly *sub-dolicho-cephalic*, thus presenting a very marked contrast to the head of the Burman, which is decidedly *brachy-cephalic*, showing an index of of 83·1. The Burman, however, belongs to the Mongolian type of race, and nothing further need be said about him here. Out of four hundred and fifty adult males of the *Brâhman* caste the average cephalic index is found to be 73·7, a figure practically the same as that found by Mr. Risley, the lowest index being that of the *Bhât*, and the highest (of course excluding the Burman, who is Mongolian) that of the caste Kewat.

8. Again, if we take one representative caste out of each of the main divisions and compare them thus:—

Division.	Caste.	Cephalic Index.
1. Aryan	Brâhman	73·7
2. Medium	Kâyasth	73·3
3. Dravidian	Chamâr	73·9
(*a*) Hinduized . .		
(*b*) Aboriginal . . .	Kol	73·8

we cannot but be struck with the similarity of all, the heads of each being markedly dolicho-cephalic.

Table of Cephalic Indices.

Caste.	Average.	Caste.	Average.
Bhât	70·8	Kâchhi	72·2
Mâli	71·0	Dhângar	72·2
Halwâi	71·1	* * *	* *
Bauriya	71·4	Brâhman	73·7
Kasera	71·7	Râjput	73·8
Bâri	71·8	* * *	* *
Kharwâr	71·9	* * *	* *
Korwa	72·0	Darzi . . .	75·8
Faqîr	72·1	Arakh . . .	
Banya	72·2		

* The stars indicate intervals with figures ranging between.

The Facial Angle.

9. In the above investigation both the facial angles of Camper and Cuvier have been invariably taken and recorded, but as the latter is scientifically more accurate, at any rate on the living subject, it will suffice to notice the results under the latter measurement alone, as it gives us more accurately the true or sub-nasal prognathism of the individual.

10. All the measurements of facial angles were taken with Broca's facial goniometer, by far the best

instrument for the purpose. All human beings, no matter to what race they belong, are, of course, prognathous, the only difference being one of degree, the more acute angle shown indicating naturally the greater degree of prognathism.

11. In looking at the table given at the end of this section it will be seen that the *Mânjhi*, a true Dravidian (one hundred of whom were selected for measurement), has the highest angle, *viz.*, 70, closely followed by the *Dhângar*, another caste of the same class, with one of 69, the aristocratic Brâhman and Râjput ranking sixth on the list with the same average angle as the Dravidian Chamâr. The vermin-eating Musahar comes at the bottom of the list with an average angle of 62.

12. Finally if we select a representative caste out of each of the main divisions thus—

Division.	Caste.	Facial Angle.
1. Aryan	Brâhman	65
2. Medium	Kâyasth	66
3. Dravidian.	Chamâr	65
(*a*) Hinduized.		
(*b*) Aboriginal	Kol	67

and compare them, we find that there is practically no difference whatever.

Table of Facial Angles.

Caste.	Average Index.	Caste.	Average Index.
Mânjhi	70	Banjâra . . . }	66
Dhângar	69	Barhai . . . }	
Arakh . . . }		Brâhman . . . }	
Bauriya . . . }		Râjput . . . }	65
Agariya . . . }		Chamâr . . . }	
Bhuiyâr . . . }		Etc., etc. . . }	
Bhurtiya . . . }	68	Pâsi	...
Chero . . . }		* * *	* * *
Kharwâr . . . }		Musahar	62
Panka . . . }			
Kahâr . . . }			
Darzi . . . }			
Mâli . . . }	67		
Kol . . . }			

13. To finally sum up, I have, for purposes of easy comparison, taken one hundred subjects from each of the main divisions promiscuously, and irrespectively of caste, and at the end of this paragraph will be found the averages of each measurement separately under each division, in order to be able to compare finally the highest with the lowest caste, the noblest born Aryan with the humblest born Drâvir, and I think on looking at the table one cannot but be struck with the result and notice the very slight material difference that exists, a fact which tends to prove beyond doubt that the racial origin of all must have been similar, and that the foundation upon which the whole caste system in India is based, is that of function and not upon any real or appreciable difference of blood."

Summary.

Averages of 100 subjects taken promiscuously from castes under the main divisions.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
NAME OF TYPE.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	L. M. Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Antero-Posterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.	Nasal Width.	Nasal Height.	Facial Angle (Cuvier).	Nasal Index.
Aryan . .	1,676	851	1,714	255	114	60	543	349	347	207	186	136	106	131	73·1	158	77·9	36	57	66	63
Medium . .	1,656	840	1,695	250	112	59	542	346	346	204	186	136	106	131	73·1	156	77·9	36	53	64	68
Dravidian—																					
(*a*) *Hinduized*	1,632	832	1,663	248	111	58	539	346	346	202	184	135	106	130	73·4	155	78·5	35	54	65	65
(*b*) *Aboriginal*	1,627	820	1,659	243	108	59	543	342	342	203	185	134	107	130	72·4	156	79·9	37	54	68	69
Total Dravidian	1,630	826	1,661	246	110	59	541	344	344	203	185	135	107	130	72·9	156	79·2	36	54	67	67
Musalmán .	1,664	841	1,699	251	110	59	541	345	349	205	186	137	106	131	73·7	157	77·4	37	57	64	65

9. Faqîr . . .	68	1,620	836	1,675	247	110	60	541	343	344	203	186	134	107	131	72·1	155	79·9	35	54	67	69	65
10. Gadariya . . .	32	1,660	833	1,683	249	111	59	538	340	343	204	183	137	107	131	74·9	156	78·8	37	58	66	69	64
11. Gusâîn . . .	24	1,635	855	1,697	249	112	59	548	352	352	214	187	136	107	131	72·7	163	78·7	...	...	63	67	...
12. Gûjar . . .	14	1,707	853	1,744	256	114	60	544	347	346	209	186	137	106	132	73·7	158	77·4	36	58	66	67	62
13. Halwâî . . .	7	1,650	847	1,693	253	112	58	540	349	343	209	187	133	105	129	71·1	162	78·9	37	54	66	68	69
14. Jât . . .	13	1,694	860	1,740	259	116	61	543	349	349	216	187	136	108	133	75·4	162	79·4	33	60	66	70	55
15. Kâchhi . . .	58	1,652	834	1,703	252	113	59	541	344	343	206	187	135	106	131	72·2	156	78·3	36	52	66	68	69
16. Kahâr . . .	80	1,636	816	1,672	247	109	59	538	342	341	205	184	135	106	130	73·4	158	78·5	35	54	67	67	65
17. Kalwâr . . .	50	1,657	838	1,693	253	111	70	549	349	350	208	188	137	107	131	72·9	159	78·8	35	56	65	68	63
18. Kasera . . .	7	1,621	836	1,664	248	110	58	543	344	343	199	187	134	107	131	71·7	152	79·9	...	...	63	66	...
19. Kâyasth . . .	40	1,650	844	1,687	248	112	60	547	349	350	206	187	137	107	131	73·3	157	78·1	36	54	66	67	67
20. Kewat . . .	28	1,641	830	1,675	248	115	58	533	342	344	203	182	134	105	130	76·8	156	75·5	37	51	66	68	73
21. Khatri . . .	8	1,656	841	1,693	255	114	61	549	349	353	205	185	138	107	133	74·6	154	77·5	...	...	65	65	...
22. Lohâr . . .	37	1,645	836	1,683	246	111	59	543	346	344	204	187	139	103	130	74·4	157	74·1	35	55	64	67	64
23. Luniya . . .	50	1,634	833	1,669	245	109	59	538	343	344	211	185	135	106	130	73·0	162	78·5	35	53	66	68	66
24. Mâli . . .	3	1,648	822	1,677	245	111	58	537	343	340	208	186	132	104	129	71·0	161	78·8	35	55	67	65	64
25. Mallâh . . .	38	1,638	836	1,671	246	109	59	539	343	344	208	186	135	107	130	72·6	160	79·3	35	53	64	70	66
26. Nâi . . .	25	1,618	818	1,644	247	111	59	542	344	343	205	186	135	107	130	72·6	158	79·3	36	53	65	66	68

ANTHROPOMETRIC DATA—*continued.*

Summary of Measurements taken, Averages—*continued.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Names of Type.	Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.	Nasal Width.	Nasal Height.	Facial Angle (Cuvier).	Facial Angle (Camper).	Nasal Index.
MEDIUM.																							
1. Ahir . . .	350	1,648	834	1,693	250	111	59	544	345	347	204	185	136	106	131	73·5	156	77·9	...	...	65	68	...
2. Baheliya . . .	9	1,606	812	1,628	244	107	57	528	336	338	204	181	133	104	127	73·5	161	78·2	...	...	64	67	...
3. Banjâra . . .	7	1,630	832	1,665	243	110	59	539	343	344	200	186	138	107	134	74·1	149	77·5	35	52	66	68	67
4. Barhai . . .	22	1,641	825	1,686	250	112	57	543	347	345	203	186	139	108	128	74·7	159	77·7	37	54	66	70	69
5. Bâri . . .	7	1,642	832	1,699	253	112	59	540	346	343	205	188	135	105	132	71·8	155	77·8	38	59	63	66	64
6. Bauriya . . .	24	1,636	830	1,679	251	110	58	546	348	345	204	189	135	106	130	71·4	157	78·5	...	...	68	70	...
7. Bhurji . . .	20	1,635	834	1,675	248	111	59	541	345	345	205	186	136	107	132	73·1	155	78·7	35	54	66	67	65
8. Darzi . . .	3	1,710	883	1,733	250	115	62	547	357	353	213	186	141	110	133	75·8	160	78·0	...	...	67	68	...

9. Faqîr . . .	68	1,620	836	1,675	247	110	60	541	343	344	203	186	134	107	131	72·1	155	79·9	35	54	67	69	65
10. Gadariya . . .	32	1,660	833	1,683	249	111	59	538	340	343	204	183	137	107	131	74·9	156	78·8	37	58	66	69	64
11. Gusâîn . . .	24	1,635	855	1,697	249	112	59	548	352	352	214	187	136	107	131	72·7	163	78·7	...	...	63	67	...
12. Gûjar . . .	14	1,707	853	1,744	256	114	60	544	347	346	209	186	137	106	132	73·7	158	77·4	36	58	66	67	62
13. Halwâi . . .	7	1,650	847	1,693	253	112	58	540	349	343	209	187	133	105	129	71·1	162	78·9	37	54	66	68	69
14. Jât	13	1,694	860	1,740	259	116	61	543	349	349	216	187	136	108	133	75·4	162	79·4	33	60	66	70	55
15. Kâchhi . . .	58	1,652	834	1,703	252	113	59	541	344	343	206	187	135	106	131	72·2	156	78·3	36	52	66	68	69
16. Kahâr . . .	80	1,636	816	1,672	247	109	59	538	342	341	205	184	135	106	130	73·4	158	78·5	35	54	67	67	65
17. Kalwâr . . .	50	1,657	838	1,693	253	111	70	549	349	350	208	188	137	107	131	72·9	159	78·8	35	56	65	68	63
18. Kasera . . .	7	1,621	836	1,664	248	110	58	543	344	343	199	187	134	107	131	71·7	152	79·9	...	...	63	66	...
19. Kâyasth . . .	40	1,650	844	1,687	248	112	60	547	349	350	206	187	137	107	131	73 3	157	78·1	36	54	66	67	67
20. Kewat . . .	28	1,641	830	1,675	248	115	58	533	342	344	203	182	134	105	130	76·8	156	75·5	37	51	66	68	73
21. Khatri . . .	8	1,656	841	1,693	255	114	61	549	349	353	205	185	138	107	133	74·6	154	77·5	...	...	65	65	...
22. Lohâr . . .	37	1,645	836	1,683	246	111	59	543	344	344	204	187	139	103	130	74·4	157	74·1	35	55	64	67	64
23. Luniya . . .	50	1,634	833	1,669	245	109	59	538	343	344	211	185	135	106	130	73·0	162	78·5	35	53	66	68	66
24. Mâli . . .	3	1,648	822	1,677	245	111	58	537	343	340	208	186	132	104	129	71·0	161	78·8	35	55	67	65	64
25. Mallâh . . .	38	1,638	836	1,671	246	109	59	539	343	344	208	186	135	107	130	72·6	160	79·3	35	53	64	70	66
26. Nâi . . .	25	1,618	818	1,644	247	111	59	542	344	343	205	186	135	107	130	72·6	158	79·3	36	53	65	66	68

ANTHROPOMETRIC DATA —*continued.*

Summary of Measurements taken, Averages —*continued.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Name of Type.	Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Antero-posterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.	Nasal Width.	Nasal Height.	Facial Angle (Cuvier).	Facial Angle (Camper)	Nasal Index.
MEDIUM—*contd.*																							
27. Sunâr . . .	40	1,640	845	1,680	247	111	60	548	348	349	206	187	137	106	133	73·8	155	77·4	36	54	64	67	67
28. Tamoli . . .	13	1,633	837	1,664	239	110	58	539	336	338	205	184	134	104	129	72·8	159	77·6	34	52	66	67	65
29. Teli . . .	50	1,627	827	1,662	245	109	59	539	340	340	202	188	134	106	129	73·2	157	78·4	35	55	65	67	64
Total Medium Average	1,127	1,646	837	1,684	245	111	59	542	345	345	206	186	136	106	131	73·9	158	79·2	36	55	65	68	66
Medium average of 100 . . .	100	1,656	840	1,695	250	112	59	542	346	346	204	186	136	106	131	73·1	156	77·9	36	53	64	67	66

DRAVIDIAN.																								
(a) Hinduized.																								
1. Arakh . . .	5	1,618	816	1,680	253	114	59	544	340	344	199	182	138	104	129	75·8	154	75·4	...	...	68	70	...
2. Bhangi . . .	100	1,654	835	1,685	249	110	57	543	347	346	210	184	136	109	131	78·9	160	80·1	36	56	66	68	64
3. Bhar . . .	151	1,626	831	1,641	245	108	58	548	346	347	202	186	136	104	131	73·2	155	76·5	...	...	66	69	...
4. Bind . . .	18	1,629	827	1,661	249	110	57	546	347	349	203	186	137	106	131	73·7	155	77·4	35	52	65	67	67
5. Biyár . . .	14	1,613	817	1,651	243	107	58	543	344	344	204	185	136	106	130	73·1	157	77·2	36	53	64	67	67
6. Chamár . . .	333	1,648	832	1,677	248	110	59	541	344	345	204	184	136	106	131	73·9	156	77·9	...	...	65	68	...
7. Dhánuk . . .	3	1,647	830	1,667	253	113	56	527	337	340	204	180	136	105	135	75·6	151	77·2	35	57	65	69	61
8. Dharkár . . .	16	1,632	819	1,656	244	108	57	541	343	343	199	184	136	105	129	73·9	154	77·2	36	53	65	69	68
9. Dhobi . . .	45	1,632	831	1,668	248	111	59	540	342	343	204	183	137	106	130	74·6	157	77·4	34	54	66	68	63
10. Dusádh . . .	25	1,628	836	1,644	246	109	58	544	347	347	208	186	136	105	130	73·1	160	77·2	37	51	67	69	73
11. Khangár . . .	28	1,646	842	1,673	248	113	58	536	346	345	205	183	137	106	130	74·9	157	77·4	...	...	65	68	...
12. Khatik . .	35	1,646	829	1,677	249	111	59	543	346	345	204	187	137	107	130	73·3	157	78·1	35	55	67	66	64
13. Koeri . . .	65	1,639	832	1,687	247	113	58	542	344	343	205	184	135	107	130	73·4	158	79·3	35	55	65	68	64
14. Kumhár . . .	20	1,624	830	1,658	246	110	60	534	339	340	202	185	134	106	130	72·4	155	79·1	36	53	67	70	68
15. Kurmi . . .	100	1,635	831	1,674	249	111	58	540	345	346	206	184	135	108	130	73·3	158	78·5	36	54	65	68	67
16. Lodhi . . .	85	1,647	834	1,681	249	111	59	539	345	343	206	186	135	106	129	72·6	160	78·5	35	52	67	70	66

ANTHROPOMETRIC DATA—*continued.*

Summary of Measurements taken, Averages—*continued.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Names of Type.	Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.	Nasal Width.	Nasal Height.	Facial Angle (Cuvier).	Facial Angle (Camper).	Nasal Index.
DRAVIDIAN—*contd.*																							
(a) Hinduized—*contd.*																							
17. Musahar . . .	13	1,602	809	1,612	242	106	59	537	336	338	200	184	133	102	129	72·3	155	76·7	38	51	62	67	75
18. Nat . . .	17	1,655	840	1,685	247	111	57	542	344	342	202	184	139	108	131	75·5	154	77·7	35	55	65	68	64
19. Pâsi . . .	370	1,634	833	1,665	247	110	58	537	343	344	202	184	136	105	130	73·9	155	77·2	36	53	64	69	...
Total Dravidian (Hinduized average) . .	1,443	1,634	829	1,665	247	110	58	540	343	343	204	184	136	106	130	73·8	156	77·7	36	54	65	68	67
Dravidian (Hinduized) average of 100	100	1,632	832	1,663	248	111	58	539	346	346	202	184	135	106	130	73·4	155	78·5	35	54	65	68	65

(b) Aboriginal.																							
1. Agariya . . .	10	1,632	816	1,663	245	106	58	531	332	335	197	184	134	107	129	72·8	153	79·9	40	52	68	...	77
2. Bhuiyâr . . .	50	1,618	817	1,633	245	109	58	539	340	341	203	185	134	107	128	73·4	158	78·7	36	55	68	...	65
3. Bhuiya . . .	70	1,622	819	1,657	246	109	59	549	346	344	204	186	136	107	130	73·1	157	78·7	38	53	68	...	74
4. Chero . . .	90	1,626	819	1,664	248	110	59	545	344	342	205	186	135	108	130	72·6	157	80·0	37	53	68	...	70
5. Dhângar . . .	10	1,632	827	1,664	242	107	59	546	345	343	205	187	135	110	131	72·2	156	81·5	37	52	69	...	71
6. Ghasiya . . . Gond (*vide* No. 10).	15	1,655	834	1,694	253	113	61	545	344	344	202	186	135	106	131	72·6	154	78·5	37	55	66	...	67
7. Kharwâr . . .	100	1,617	816	1,617	248	110	59	545	346	342	205	185	133	108	130	71·0	158	81·2	37	52	68	...	71
8. Kol	80	1,626	810	1,665	247	110	57	538	341	339	204	183	135	105	130	73·8	157	77·8	37	53	67	67	70
9. Korwa . . .	25	1,594	816	1,640	245	110	60	546	346	344	203	186	134	107	131	72·0	155	79·5	39	52	66	...	75
10. Mânjhi (Gond) . .	100	1,639	817	1,681	250	111	59	547	349	344	207	185	135	108	130	73·0	159	80·0	38	52	70	...	73
11. Panka . . .	90	1,603	811	1,633	243	108	58	545	344	342	201	185	134	107	129	72·4	159	79·9	36	53	68	...	66
12. Patâri . . .	45	1,648	815	1,676	243	109	59	541	341	341	203	185	135	107	128	73·0	159	79·2	36	54	67	...	67
TOTAL DRAVIDIAN (aboriginal) AVERAGE . .	685	1,634	818	1,657	246	109	59	543	343	342	203	185	135	107	130	72·7	157	79·6	37	53	68	67	71
Dravidian (Aboriginal) average of 100	100	1,627	820	1,659	243	108	59	543	342	342	203	185	134	107	130	72·4	156	79·9	37	54	68	...	69
COMPLETE TOTAL DRAVIDIAN AVERAGE OF 100	100	1,630	826	1,661	246	110	59	541	344	344	203	185	135	107	130	72·9	156	79·2	36	54	67	68	67
MUHAMMADAN Types.																							
1. Mewâti . . .	5	1,673	851	1,724	250	115	59	528	336	342	210	182	135	107	129	74·1	163	79·3	...	...	65	69	...
2. Mughal . . .	30	1,654	817	1,711	252	112	59	540	347	348	210	187	138	109	132	73·8	159	79·0	35	56	65	66	63
3. Pathân . . .	108	1,664	848	1,690	250	112	59	544	347	349	208	184	138	107	131	75·0	159	77·6	38	56	64	68	68

ANTHROPOMETRIC DATA —*concluded.*

SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS TAKEN, AVERAGES —*concluded.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
NAMES OF TYPE.	Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.	Nasal Width.	Nasal Height.	Facial Angle (Cuvier).	Facial Angle (Camper).	Nasal Index.
MUHAMMADAN Types—*contd.*																							
4. Sayyid . . .	60	1,656	844	1,684	250	108	60	542	346	348	206	185	137	106	131	73·3	157	77·4	37	57	65	68	64
5. Shaikh . . .	238	1,654	844	1,681	263	111	59	540	345	346	208	185	136	106	130	73·5	160	77·9	36	56	65	68	64
TOTAL MUHAMMADAN AVERAGE . . .	441	1,660	841	1,698	253	112	59	539	344	347	209	185	137	107	131	73·9	160	78·2	37	57	65	68	65
Muhammadan average of 100 . .	100	1,664	841	1,699	251	110	59	541	345	349	205	186	137	106	131	73·7	157	77·4	37	57	64	67	65
MONGOLOID.																							
1. Burman (average of total) . .	231	1,649	865	1,661	244	113	60	542	343	356	208	178	148	115	138	83·1	151	77·7	...	...	62	64	...
Burman average of 100	100	1,656	870	1,660	244	113	61	543	346	356	206	177	148	113	138	83·6	149	76·4	...	...	63	68	...

H. E. DRAKE-BROCKMAN,
Surgeon Captain, I. M. S.

14. As a supplement to Surgeon Captain Brockman's note the following tables of measurements carried out under the superintendence of Mr. E. J. Kitts, C. S., are republished from the Proceedings of the Anthropological Society of Bombay. It is to be regretted that owing to his absence on furlough in England Mr. Kitts has been unable to summarise the results.

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—JÂT.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,617	833	1,653	254	104	66	536	333	348	213	187	140	...	...	74·7	...	...
2	1,658	820	1,714	257	104	58	538	335	335	218	190	137	...	...	72·1	...	...
3	1,659	845	1,720	247	106	66	548	337	365	214	190	144	114	141	75·8	1	79·2
4	1,657	808	1,735	246	113	63	537	337	335	210	185	141	116	134	76·2	1	82·3
5	1,541	786	1,585	238	103	64	527	322	330	223	184	141	106	134	76·7	1	75·2
6	1,655	800	1,727	254	114	67	543	335	335	215	184	144	109	128	78·3	1	75·7
7	1,700	874	1,780	255	119	63	528	325	340	200	183	141	112	135	77·0	1	79·4
8	1,637	787	1,730	258	112	61	522	330	343	220	174	147	108	133	84·5	1	73·5
9	1,675	858	1,725	247	107	59	538	342	345	198	188	143	107	130	76·1	1	74·8
10	1,611	816	1,600	250	114	61	533	348	343	216	187	143	109	134	76·5	1	76·2

11	1,630	828	1,736	243	116	58	535	320	340	213	185	146	115	144	78·8	1	78·8
12	1,780	862	1,880	279	120	60	550	328	357	212	188	146	116	139	77·7	1	79·5
13	1,719	839	1,813	251	104	65	528	320	333	209	187	133	109	134	71·1	1	82·0
14	1,689	871	1,732	262	104	62	549	330	361	224	189	150	120	137	79·4	1	80·0
15	1,704	...	1,737	267	104	...	536	335	335	...	188	136	...	...	72·3	...	...
16	1,739	...	1,800	272	107	...	543	325	348	...	189	154	...	...	81·5	...	...
17	1,651	...	1,711	259	104	...	554	343	345	...	196	147	...	...	75·0	...	...
18	1,694	...	1,777	284	114	...	554	320	345	...	197	140	...	...	71·1	...	...
19	1,744	...	1,830	274	104	...	536	330	328	...	185	138	...	...	74·6	...	...
20	1,772	871	1,770	259	114	64	551	358	328	226	198	138	...	...	69·7	...	...
21	1,744	861	1,866	269	119	66	531	343	353	208	184	144	...	...	78·3	...	...
22	1,843	922	1,904	277	117	71	549	356	353	218	198	141	...	...	71·2	...	...
23	1,651	815	1,711	259	110	58	533	340	343	224	191	137	...	...	71·7	...	...
24	1,661	813	1,765	244	110	61	554	343	345	208	195	141	...	...	72·3	...	...
25	1,706	841	1,884	282	119	66	543	348	356	203	196	141	...	...	71·9	...	...
26	1,676	842	1,755	253	108	59	545	350	348	225	190	140	103	133	73·7	169	73·6
27	1,726	860	1,715	257	112	65	...	...	...	218	200	144	105	135	72·0	161	72·9

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
28	1,626	826	1,682	245	110	67	565	355	355	226	197	142	102	141	72·1	160	71·8
29	1,584	810	1,588	250	113	58	548	353	348	229	199	138	100	128	69·3	179	73·2
30	1,757	880	1,918	270	127	67	557	345	325	218	193	130	99	135	67·4	161	76·2
31	1,688	875	1,735	257	112	60	543	342	362	216	188	143	109	136	76·1	159	76·2
32	1,755	910	1,875	279	121	64	557	363	365	215	200	140	105	134	70·0	160	75·0
33	1,655	820	1,770	255	112	63	532	325	353	207	183	135	115	138	73·8	150	85·2
34	1,735	875	1,825	275	120	69	545	340	345	200	198	135	110	135	69·9	148	81·5
35	1,695	855	1,762	266	113	62	535	345	350	210	179	145	115	142	81·0	148	79·3
36	1,690	865	1,716	243	102	58	560	355	355	208	191	146	116	137	76·4	152	79·5
37	1,675	848	1,695	260	109	61	550	330	325	199	196	140	112	142	71·4	140	80·0

38	1,675	880	1,755	268	116	65	530	333	347	211	186	142	100	130	76·3	162	70·4
39	1,795	885	1,820	274	133	52	553	375	354	203	181	140	108	125	77·3	162	77·3
40	1,755	900	1,825	263	110	61	542	350	355	210	182	144	114	138	79·1	152	79·2
41	1,645	855	1,755	244	107	63	541	340	333	201	189	144	115	140	76·2	144	79·9
42	1,735	935	1,727	251	104	70	555	370	355	218	198	138	109	135	69·7	161	79·0
43	1,610	820	1,712	252	112	73	540	340	348	206	192	139	104	139	72·4	148	74·8
44	1,770	910	1,878	269	112	71	525	352	346	219	193	140	105	137	72·9	160	75·0
45	1,640	845	1,740	252	103	62	567	373	353	205	201	139	115	133	69·2	154	82·7
46	1,735	880	1,852	261	122	66	543	354	343	215	195	132	111	133	67·7	162	83·3
47	1,760	890	1,795	254	110	71	550	355	369	208	196	143	115	139	73·0	150	80·4
48	1,710	853	1,805	259	120	62	548	345	359	211	190	138	100	135	72·6	156	72·5
49	1,743	875	1,756	258	110	60	516	334	360	192	172	138	102	129	80·2	149	75·6
50	1,764	896	1,863	277	117	57	530	332	330	209	181	137	105	133	75·7	157	76·6
51	1,770	872	1,843	260	119	59	554	362	350	205	187	132	98	125	70·6	164	74·2
52	1,690	850	1,813	259	116	62	542	324	350	175	175	141	104	130	80·6	135	73·8

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—JÂT—*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Variation.							SUMMARY.										
From .	1,541	786	1,585	238	102	52	516	320	325	175	172	130	98	125	67·4	135	70·4
No. .	5	5	5	5	36	39	49	1,13,18	30,37	52	49	30	51	39,51	30	52	38
To .	1,843	935	1,918	284	133	73	567	375	369	229	201	154	120	144	84·5	179	85·2
No. .	22	42	30	18	39	43	45	39	47	29	45	16	14	11	8	29	33
Mean .	1,690	855	1,755	258	112	63	543	342	347	211	189	141	109	135	74·3	157	77·3
Average	1,696	850	1,768	259	112	63	543	342	347	211	187	141	109	135	74·4	157	77·3

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—BHANGI.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Antero-posterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,706	846	1,841	272	117	66	523	345	340	216	191	134	...	...	70·1	...	...
2	1,633	820	1,701	244	107	64	513	343	335	221	183	140	...	...	76·5	...	...
3	1,579	787	1,645	241	110	64	533	343	333	224	190	139	...	...	73·2	...	...
4	1,701	884	1,711	264	107	69	546	358	371	249	191	142	...	...	74·3	...	...
5	1,635	833	1,732	257	114	58	538	312	315	198	188	140	116	129	74·5	1	82·9
6	1,633	843	1,640	239	102	64	541	345	335	203	192	140	119	134	72·9	1	95·0
7	1,562	797	1,600	221	96	58	513	330	315	203	185	131	108	128	70·8	1	82·4
8	1,722	838	1,838	264	117	58	554	356	330	213	199	133	108	133	66·8	1	81·2
9	1,648	815	1,752	264	114	64	528	338	335	203	185	133	107	136	71·9	1	80·5

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
10	1,691	848	1,790	259	112	58	528	330	348	206	184	142	118	133	77·2	1	83·1
11	1,625	846	1,737	249	110	58	528	323	323	203	186	134	112	135	72·0	1	83·6
12	1,762	853	1,765	262	112	69	531	348	361	208	193	136	105	135	70·5	1	77·2
13	1,652	785	1,733	247	107	61	537	340	333	210	188	131	108	135	69·7	1	82·4
14	1,650	830	...	245	...	56	530	325	325	205	182	138	107	131	75·8	1	77·5
15	1,672	832	1,740	265	120	63	547	350	360	220	192	140	110	139	72·9	1	78·6
16	1,667	797	1,785	255	120	58	515	325	317	195	180	134	100	131	74·4	1	74·7
17	1,602	812	1,608	241	104	59	525	343	340	217	184	133	103	135	72·3	1	77·4
18	1,703	828	1,788	255	119	70	546	365	358	217	190	144	112	136	75·8	1	77·6
19	1,695	858	1,696	253	104	63	536	370	370	224	189	140	115	130	74·1	1	82·1

20	1,740	880	1,812	273	121	61	544	344	343	217	193	133	97	133	68·9	1	72·9
21	1,696	890	1,774	267	117	66	543	345	358	222	193	140	115	140	72·0	1	82·1
22	1,700	893	1,733	266	119	60	524	330	350	220	187	134	104	135	71·1	1	77·6
23	1,671	846	1,768	261	110	63	538	360	345	210	203	138	115	133	68·3	1	83·3
24	1,665	857	1,725	260	111	59	538	335	338	205	184	142	117	136	77·2	1	82·4
25	1,698	876	1,745	260	110	61	530	345	345	212	185	140	110	133	75·7	1	78·6
26	1,648	828	1,727	259	120	61	552	343	343	203	200	135	116	142	67·5	143	85·9
27	1,663	850	1,705	260	112	67	525	335	350	193	180	140	108	134	77·7	144	77·1
28	1,675	870	1,721	273	110	58	546	370	356	210	183	138	113	139	75·4	151	81·9
29	1,637	820	1,747	252	114	59	530	332	341	211	177	138	107	134	78·0	157	77·5
30	1,693	905	1,770	259	110	57	523	339	332	204	179	132	90	126	73·2	162	68·2
31	1,690	870	1,695	255	102	63	535	343	359	227	189	140	115	129	74·1	176	82·1
32	1,720	850	1,820	262	112	57	545	340	330	209	200	132	110	129	66·0	162	83·3
33	1,730	875	1,745	263	111	61	555	350	338	211	197	138	117	136	70·1	155	84·8
34	1,748	865	1,825	277	113	68	555	352	355	226	200	138	109	131	69·0	173	79·0
35	1,640	825	1,702	246	111	56	522	335	310	199	186	126	98	130	67·7	153	77·8
36	1,490	770	1,495	227	102	59	521	339	333	195	188	133	92	124	72·7	157	69·2

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—BHANGI—*concluded.*

	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
7	1,619	830	1,682	249	110	58	511	325	337	205	177	131	99	126	74·0	163	75·6
8	1,621	820	1,711	250	112	62	501	310	330	202	178	132	94	126	74·2	160	71·2
9	1,600	830	1,605	232	104	62	532	363	360	206	186	139	103	134	74·5	154	74·1
0	1,628	845	1,654	255	109	56	535	352	340	199	183	138	105	129	75·4	154	76·1
1	1,614	825	1,647	245	107	56	527	352	339	202	187	135	97	129	72·2	157	71·8
2	1,622	835	1,711	250	111	57	538	345	349	201	186	140	101	132	75·3	152	72·1
3	1,693	855	1,730	247	107	65	530	359	352	198	188	135	102	131	71·8	151	75·6
4	1,649	830	1,672	248	103	59	537	347	322	200	190	130	93	121	68·4	165	71·5
5	1,605	819	1,679	256	110	63	531	337	330	205	178	138	107	131	77·5	156	77·6
6	1,650	830	1,749	260	112	57	535	340	349	206	180	137	105	133	76·1	155	76·6

47	1,690	860	1,765	254	105	63	530	352	341	204	185	132	96	127	71·4	161	72·7
48	1,595	805	1,619	250	104	60	520	340	332	193	177	137	104	130	77·4	148	75·9
49	1,609	816	1,585	251	103	59	524	350	340	190	180	136	100	129	75·6	147	73·5
50	1,649	800	1,697	257	108	53	515	333	330	185	176	137	103	131	77·8	141	75·2
Variation.								SUMMARY.									
From .	1,490	770	1,495	221	96	53	501	310	310	190	177	126	90	121	66·0	139	68·2
No. .	36	36	36	7	7	50	38	38	35	49	29,37,48	35	30	44	32	14	30
To .	1,762	892	1,841	277	121	70	558	370	371	249	202	144	119	142	78·0	176	95·0
No. .	12	22	1	34	20	18	23	19,28	4	4	23	18	6	26	29	31	6
Mean .	1,650	833	1,727	255	110	60	531	343	340	206	186	137	103	125	73·0	156	78·0
Average	1,65	836	1,716	254	110	61	535	343	340	210	187	136	98	121	73·0	156	78·2

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—PATHAN.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,656	838	1,752	259	114	61	559	356	353	220	193	143	114	134	72·2	164	79·7
2	1,572	825	1,635	267	112	64	520	330	356	208	179	141	111	128	78·8	163	78·7
3	1,625	846	1,686	251	102	66	518	338	350	216	181	136	108	128	75·1	169	79·4
4	1,612	797	1,681	254	110	56	538	338	343	230	190	141	113	131	74·2	176	80·1
5	1,668	846	1,711	259	113	64	520	325	345	211	198	137	117	132	72·9	160	85·4
6	1,700	863	1,777	272	114	61	561	360	360	240	201	143	123	136	71·1	176	86·0
7	1,675	862	1,647	247	102	65	545	350	360	209	193	142	110	136	73·6	154	77·5
8	1,687	890	1,695	256	104	60	538	352	342	211	187	135	110	131	72·2	161	81·5
9	1,555	840	1,560	240	102	67	525	325	318	198	185	135	114	132	72·9	150	84·4
10	1,618	830	1,662	250	109	63	535	325	322	206	187	138	110	130	73·8	158	79·7

11	1,720	883	1,705	257	110	63	543	333	367	213	193	145	116	139	75·1	158	80·0
12	1,670	848	1,705	259	112	63	550	354	362	209	187	141	99	134	75·4	156	70·2
13	1,729	890	1,812	264	118	60	539	345	353	203	191	141	97	130	73·8	156	68·8
14	1,880	950	1,905	2	127	62	540	338	351	210	187	140	106	135	74·9	156	75·9
15	1,605	848	1,680	2	105	57	534	344	340	190	187	139	99	128	74·3	148	71·2
16	1,640	833	1,670	2	111	65	544	340	353	218	187	140	104	135	74·9	161	74·3
17	1,710	859	1,767	2	120	65	544	346	350	223	195	135	100	134	69·2	166	74·4
18	1,670	860	1,695	2	113	56	543	360	368	220	190	146	108	137	76·8	161	74·0
19	1,755	924	1,760	2	121	66	553	365	357	223	191	140	102	125	73·3	178	72·9
20	1,566	812	1,582	2	102	69	528	340	328	200	182	129	100	127	70·9	157	77·6
21	1,745	905	1,732	2	125	67	534	334	345	202	185	140	110	136	75·7	148	78·6
22	1,590	840	1,627	2	107	56	518	322	346	217	183	134	100	134	73·2	162	74·6
23	1,665	858	1,742	2	118	55	529	327	250	205	176	141	110	128	80·1	160	78·0
24	1,755	903	1,793	2	120	60	529	350	352	220	181	137	98	138	75·7	159	71·5
25	1,735	901	1,839	2	121	61	541	359	360	225	185	137	105	130	74·1	173	76·6
26	1,729	840	1,835	274	113	61	529	348	350	226	177	132	100	125	74·6	181	75·0
27	1,710	885	1,805	270	108	59	552	360	365	235	187	141	108	132	75·4	178	73·0

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—PATHAN—*continued.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
28	1,700	880	1,725	251	105	60	532	359	350	217	184	136	105	129	73·9	168	77·2
29	1,775	905	1,867	277	115	67	840	363	360	226	192	140	105	132	72·9	171	75·0
30	1,650	845	1,749	261	110	63	546	363	340	215	188	142	107	137	75·5	157	75·4
31	1,810	865	1,909	270	114	64	556	350	360	226	187	143	100	128	76·5	177	69·9
32	1,770	895	1,865	283	120	59	549	356	359	189	191	140	97	135	73·3	140	69·3
33	1,725	880	1,768	254	110	63	544	353	350	197	184	140	109	133	76·1	148	77·9
34	1,635	840	1,730	250	111	60	550	340	360	209	184	138	102	128	74·5	163	73·9
35	1,590	845	1,610	248	107	60	550	360	352	193	180	139	102	130	77·2	148	72·7
36	1,610	780	1,670	248	110	54	521	336	350	176	177	135	101	127	76·3	139	74·8
37	1,635	820	1,699	247	109	52	530	320	340	195	180	130	95	129	72·2	151	72·3

38	1,715	870	1,784	251	110	59	537	330	347	196	187	137	103	130	73·3	151	75·2
39	1,721	860	1,841	260	109	63	540	319	330	201	183	140	110	132	76·5	152	78·6
40	1,665	840	1,720	252	111	61	551	345	360	179	190	139	105	132	73·1	136	75·6
41	1,715	885	1,710	256	107	59	525	339	350	196	177	133	96	129	75·1	152	72·2
42	1,640	865	1,710	255	103	61	549	352	350	187	186	147	107	140	79·0	134	72·8
43	1,700	860	1,780	274	120	66	572	352	370	200	193	147	113	139	76·2	144	76·9
44	1,685	865	1,782	255	112	56	535	325	343	207	179	133	110	142	74·3	146	82·7
45	1,665	823	1,750	242	107	59	532	347	340	215	184	139	99	135	75·5	159	71·2
46	1,600	825	1,651	245	105	61	500	310	345	189	178	137	109	133	77·6	142	80·0
47	1,615	820	1,710	252	108	60	522	320	320	190	186	133	100	130	71·5	146	75·2
48	1,720	884	1,790	249	112	59	518	350	350	210	189	133	104	127	70·4	165	78·2
49	1,765	865	1,820	271	115	60	563	350	360	216	191	137	105	130	71·7	166	76·6
50	1,660	820	1,705	257	107	61	562	370	350	208	187	140	107	139	74·9	150	76·4
Variation.							SUMMARY.										
From .	1,555	780	1,560	238	102	52	500	310	318	176	176	1	95	125	69·2	134	68·8
No. .	0	36	9	20,22	3,79	37	46	46	9	36	23	20	37	19,26	17	42	13

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—PATHAN —*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
							SUMMARY —*concluded.*										
To .	1,880	950	1,909	283	127	69	572	370	370	240	201	1	123	139	80·1	181	86·0
No. .	14	14	31	32	14	20	43	50	43	6	6	42,43	6	11,43,50	23	26	6
Mean .	1,680	859	1,735	255	111	61	539	341	350	208	187	1	105	131	74·4	158	75·2
Average	1,680	853	1,736	254	111	60	539	337	350	208	186	1	106	132	74·4	158	75·2

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—MURÂO.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,709	835	1,820	249	112	61	549	356	338	203	191	140	...	...	73·3	...	...
2	1,633	795	1,742	267	114	64	543	361	333	198	190	140	...	...	73·7	...	...
3	1,607	795	1,643	241	107	56	536	348	338	190	184	140	...	...	76·1	...	...
4	1,620	838	1,661	259	107	61	531	350	340	198	191	139	...	...	72·8	...	...
5	1,678	820	1,722	251	104	58	521	333	333	198	182	139	...	...	76·4	...	...
6	1,676	813	1,742	259	107	66	538	340	335	190	191	138	...	...	72·3	...	...
7	1,658	848	1,706	241	110	64	533	356	350	211	190	138	...	...	72·6	...	...
8	1,658	835	1,815	269	117	58	554	345	330	203	199	141	...	...	70·9	...	...
9	1,615	790	1,651	236	107	66	526	338	335	200	182	134	...	...	73·6	...	...

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—MURÂO—*continued.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
10	1,656	856	1,704	251	112	61	526	338	350	206	182	138	...	...	75·8	...	...
11	1,645	820	1,717	251	112	64	546	366	356	216	192	139	...	...	72·4	...	...
12	1,617	792	1,625	257	104	66	559	356	356	208	194	142	...	...	73·7	...	...
13	1,618	833	1,625	250	106	63	532	337	355	214	189	136	109	131	72·0	163	80·1
14	1,657	820	1,755	259	115	63	535	340	335	204	193	138	105	135	71·5	151	76·8
15	1,612	800	1,727	263	117	67	548	345	350	220	192	139	116	140	72·4	157	83·5
16	1,640	845	1,670	247	110	60	530	340	350	210	183	143	109	138	78·1	152	76·2
17	1,665	837	1,727	247	112	60	530	340	335	203	189	132	100	121	69·8	168	75·8
18	1,587	810	1,665	241	112	60	533	330	350	207	189	140	108	132	74·1	157	77·1
19	1,650	833	1,783	250	117	65	550	352	358	230	198	138	104	129	69·7	178	75·4

20	1,593	833	1,578	241	103	60	545	336	348	223	180	140	110	130	77·3	172	77·8
21	1,603	820	1,655	233	101	59	535	330	333	205	189	134	103	132	70·9	155	76·9
22	1,986	835	1,770	240	115	65	525	330	337	206	185	132	107	127	71·4	162	73·5
23	1,586	827	1,685	252	112	66	520	329	335	185	181	133	98	133	73·5	139	73·5
24	1,631	850	1,735	245	110	60	545	340	345	213	192	143	110	131	74·5	163	76·9
25	1,658	855	1,520	262	118	58	555	340	335	204	197	139	115	138	70·6	148	82·7
26	1,705	850	1,825	266	118	55	528	335	338	211	192	132	105	130	68·8	162	79·5
27	1,680	845	1,730	245	110	58	520	330	332	200	183	138	112	135	75·4	148	81·2
28	1,682	843	1,786	260	114	62	514	338	322	200	184	128	...	121	69·6	165	...
29	1,570	845	1,745	256	111	62	533	340	350	200	177	140	101	136	79·1	147	72·1
30	1,645	825	1,680	249	103	55	540	333	339	195	180	139	100	127	77·2	154	71·9
31	1,645	847	1,685	254	102	63	532	335	345	198	181	143	113	140	79·0	141	79·0
32	1,625	822	1,700	247	108	54	520	332	330	203	182	138	112	127	75 8	160	81·2
33	1,535	795	1,565	241	104	55	535	330	325	217	186	137	107	131	73·7	166	78·1
34	1,605	815	1,700	243	107	56	515	328	320	207	178	135	110	133	75·8	156	81·5
35	1,576	870	1,625	227	107	60	520	324	339	200	183	137	101	125	74·9	160	73·8
36	1,610	786	1,712	250	105	58	515	349	350	200	178	133	91	121	75·3	165	68·4

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—MURÂO—*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14.	15	16	17	18
37	1,530	780	1,587	240	104	51	523	345	345	190	179	135	102	127	75·4	150	75·6
38	1,630	830	1,725	254	117	59	536	340	350	199	186	142	94	130	76·3	153	66·2
39	1,632	800	1,750	253	110	62	535	350	360	206	182	135	100	131	74·2	157	74·1
40	1,600	830	1,688	252	110	53	519	360	345	210	...	139	96	127	...	165	69·1
41	1,555	805	1,570	246	105	56	525	330	331	209	175	130	96	120	74·3	174	73·9
42	1,644	835	1,624	244	104	66	554	370	360	220	184	137	100	125	74·5	176	73·0
43	1,670	830	1,692	249	110	56	525	344	350	207	175	130	98	122	74·3	170	75·4
44	1,653	835	1,687	270	115	62	520	331	334	191	185	137	99	132	74·1	145	72·3
45	1,625	820	1,715	250	99	54	530	344	344	206	175	140	105	134	80·1	154	82·1
46	1,672	830	1,660	244	115	60	520	330	330	186	177	135	108	130	77·5	143	80·0

47	1,640	840	1,725	265	115	53	540	335	330	...	176	134	100	126	76·1	..	74·6
48	1,732	865	1,800	279	120	53	570	350	350	...	190	135	110	125	71·1	...	81·5
49	1,600	815	1,655	244	115	64	560	370	360	187	193	132	105	130	68·4	144	79·5
50	1,620	820	1,705	254	115	53	540	330	340	...	183	130	110	134	71·0	...	84·6
Variation.								SUMMARY.									
From .	1,530	780	1,565	227	101	51	514	324	320	185	175	128	91	120	68·4	139	66·2
No. .	37	37	33	35	21	37	28	35	34,47	23	41,43,45	28	36	41	49	23	38
To .	1,732	870	1,825	279	120	67	570	370	360	230	199	143	116	140	80·1	178	83·5
No. .	48	35	26	48	48	15	48	42,49	39,42	19	8	16,24	15	15,31	45	19	15
Mean .	1,632	830	1,704	250	110	60	534	340	340	204	185	138	105	130	74·3	157	76·6
Average	1,633	826	1,701	251	110	60	534	342	341	204	185	137	105	133	75·3	158	76·6

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—GÛJAR.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,653	841	1,750	241	112	76	538	356	348	213	199	134	110	133	67·3	160	82·1
2	1,638	782	1,696	251	102	66	526	330	345	213	180	141	...	...	78·3	...	...
3	1,673	820	1,691	244	104	64	543	343	350	206	186	143	...	...	77·2	...	...
4	1,734	881	1,767	267	110	69	543	358	353	221	191	137	...	...	71·7	...	...
5	1,656	818	1,722	257	107	69	531	343	325	178	181	130	...	...	71·8	...	...
6	1,838	922	1,930	284	124	71	584	381	376	188	209	146	...	...	69·9	...	...
7	1,663	823	1,711	269	114	63	551	320	330	226	190	145	114	140	76·3	161	78·6
8	1,620	818	1,671	254	102	63	513	302	328	215	175	140	115	131	80·0	164	82·1
9	1,755	...	1,869	267	117	...	554	348	353	...	195	147	...	...	74·4	...	...
10	1,813	890	1,927	274	122	63	564	348	345	239	201	148	111	142	70·0	168	75·0

11	1,678	818	1,807	264	117	62	541	320	340	228	190	141	115	130	74·1	175	81·6
12	2,638	...	1,635	249	102	...	564	350	356	...	201	149	...	...	70·1	...	...
13	1,722	871	1,770	254	112	69	564	361	348	216	205	139	...	...	67·8	...	...
14	1,744	828	1,823	272	114	69	516	338	317	216	181	132	...	...	72·9	...	...
15	1,658	823	1,734	254	114	71	538	338	317	208	192	130	...	...	67·8	...	...
16	1,569	805	1,673	249	107	76	556	345	333	211	194	141	...	...	72·7	...	...
17	1,770	894	1,900	254	112	69	551	350	343	216	194	143	...	...	73·7	...	...
18	1,676	843	1,719	249	99	64	559	356	345	221	193	140	...	...	72·5	...	...
19	1,833	862	1,867	285	122	66	586	363	370	215	204	147	119	139	72·1	155	81·0
20	1,674	850	1,757	250	113	72	550	337	378	221	186	147	119	145	79·0	152	81·0
21	1,676	797	1,753	261	112	65	533	348	338	211	191	136	99	127	71·2	166	72·8
22	1,774	850	1,905	276	127	70	545	333	353	213	196	141	109	139	71·9	153	77·3
23	1,610	799	1,688	244	106	71	543	352	345	213	191	143	106	140	74·9	152	74·1
24	1,560	800	1,627	237	103	65	527	330	345	225	184	137	102	135	74·5	167	74·5
25	1,647	820	1,703	256	109	70	546	340	344	222	192	139	111	141	72·4	157	79·9
26	1,612	820	1,677	240	105	63	543	350	350	226	191	139	114	135	72·8	167	82·0
27	1,687	870	1,755	247	108	62	537	345	340	221	187	140	113	137	74·9	161	80·7

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—GÛJAR—*continued.*

	Height of Vortex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vortex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
8	1,661	833	1,725	248	108	62	540	342	348	218	185	144	108	134	77·8	163	75·0
9	1,646	820	1,755	257	113	63	530	330	360	206	183	145	106	135	79·2	153	73·1
0	1,662	875	1,727	2	112	70	541	340	350	218	192	133	110	133	69·3	164	82·7
1	1,715	865	1,765	2	117	60	550	345	345	215	190	140	104	139	73·7	155	74·3
2	1,685	882	1,740	2	111	65	555	355	365	225	194	135	103	135	69·6	167	76·2
3	1,692	827	1,770	2	110	61	535	328	386	206	188	139	115	136	74·0	151	82·7
4	1,625	850	1,677	2	100	69	636	340	345	201	193	144	113	130	74·6	155	78·5
5	1,715	850	1,820	2	104	69	539	330	350	208	186	146	120	134	78·5	155	82·2
6	1,710	875	1,725	2	...	61	567	370	337	200	196	139	115	131	71·0	153	82·7
7	1,755	886	1,810	2	102	56	552	352	362	206	188	134	103	130	71·3	158	76·9

38	1,801	925	1,855	2	118	62	542	330	340	186	189	133	105	132	70·0	141	78·9
39	1,770	870	1,856	2	115	57	555	367	365	210	195	145	101	131	74·4	160	69·7
40	1,780	890	1,877	2	110	64	545	360	353	219	195	139	100	131	71·9	167	71·9
41	1,710	880	1,714	2	109	60	547	368	351	214	191	136	103	130	71·3	165	75·7
42	1,703	860	1,752	2	114	58	533	338	330	196	181	135	97	133	74·6	147	71·9
43	1,720	850	1,824	2	122	59	519	323	335	184	175	130	105	131	74·3	140	80·8
44	1,770	900	1,835	2	123	65	549	343	330	190	187	138	107	127	73·8	150	77·5
45	1,745	840	1,805	2	115	61	530	320	328	208	186	130	101	128	69·9	163	77·7
46	1,765	872	1,850	2	120	59	535	350	340	230	194	134	100	130	69·1	177	74·7
47	1,701	865	1,750	2	114	55	560	350	355	211	187	143	108	140	76·4	143	75·5
48	1,700	852	1,800	2	110	61	564	375	355	223	194	140	99	133	72·2	168	70·7
49	1,633	837	1,700	2	105	61	535	330	335	215	183	138	111	130	75·4	165	80·4
50	1,720	832	1,807	2	120	56	550	325	335	203	180	143	108	123	79·4	165	75·5
Variation.							SUMMARY.											
From .	1,560	782	1,627	2	99	55	513	202	317	178	175	130	97	123	67·3	140	69·7
No. .	24	2	24	24	18	47	8	8	1,415	5	843	5,15,43,45	42	50	1	43	39

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—GŪJAR—*concluded*.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Maximum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
								SUMMARY—*contd.*									
To .	1,838	925	1,930	2	124	76	586	381	378	239	209	149	120	145	80·0	177	82·7
No. .	6	38	6	19	6	1,16	19	6	20	10	6	12	35	20	8	46	30,33,36
Mean .	1,700	833	1,767	2	112	64	544	354	345	213	191	140	108	133	73·5	160	78·5
Average	1,698	832	1,767	2	113	65	545	358	345	210	189	140	108	134	73·5	159	77·5

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—CHAUHÂN RÂJPUT.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Antero-posterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,617	...	1,689	257	107	64	526	305	330	...	180	140	...	...	77·8	...	...
2	1,663	833	1,671	262	102	59	546	315	350	230	190	157	114	139	82·7	165	72·6
3	1,694	...	1,747	269	112	64	556	325	343	...	195	145	...	...	73·3	...	...
4	1,605	...	1,666	246	107	64	513	312	330	...	180	138	...	...	76·7	...	...
5	1,671	...	1,760	267	112	64	546	338	323	...	194	142	...	...	73·2	...	...
6	1,597	...	1,658	246	107	69	531	315	338	...	183	146	...	...	79·2	...	...
7	1,684	...	1,800	262	117	69	556	335	345	...	200	135	...	...	67·5	...	...
8	1,717	856	1,787	269	119	71	549	340	343	221	202	135	...	...	66·8	...	...
9	1,816	890	1,885	270	119	61	530	348	380	217	182	111	105	132	77·5	164	74·5

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—CHAUHÂN RÂJPUT—*continued.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
10	1,680	885	1,737	247	110	60	551	330	379	218	193	143	114	134	74·1	163	79·7
11	1,725	868	1,715	255	110	59	537	330	340	210	190	131	117	136	68·9	154	89·3
12	1,658	842	1,765	264	119	63	530	315	338	208	177	143	117	131	86·4	159	81·9
13	1,600	832	1,632	240	105	64	547	358	354	224	195	137	111	133	70·3	169	81·0
14	1,700	875	1,825	252	111	60	545	335	355	209	189	142	116	137	75·1	145	81·7
15	1,590	835	1,600	236	98	61	500	310	334	205	178	129	100	130	73·0	158	77·5
16	1,570	845	1,602	240	110	62	525	345	345	206	191	131	102	127	68·6	161	78·3
17	1,610	840	1,657	247	111	61	552	358	352	217	194	139	106	129	71·6	168	76·3
18	1,638	845	1,690	248	103	64	536	340	345	220	193	137	112	135	71·0	163	81·8
19	1,605	815	1,630	239	103	58	542	332	350	217	186	132	102	132	70·9	164	77·3

20	1,620	848	1,720	240	108	67	533	345	355	215	189	139	112	130	73·5	145	80·6
21	1,585	832	...	...	...	73	523	332	345	199	182	134	99	127	73·6	157	73·9
22	1,668	830	1,757	250	115	65	525	330	320	200	188	134	109	137	71·3	146	81·3
23	1,700	859	1,775	269	110	67	548	345	353	220	194	137	114	134	70·7	164	83·2
24	1,601	810	1,650	228	106	54	510	334	328	199	171	123	96	119	72·0	167	78·1
25	1,657	852	1,745	259	110	60	520	333	330	199	170	130	105	126	76·4	158	80·8
26	1,705	870	1,820	259	120	68	549	370	331	218	187	139	108	133	74·3	164	74·3
27	1,670	830	1,756	240	115	52	550	350	359	212	183	140	96	125	76·5	170	68·6
28	1,695	835	1,749	257	112	64	535	344	351	197	180	132	103	126	73·3	156	78·0
29	1,640	818	1,722	258	110	64	510	320	340	216	174	136	99	132	78·1	164	72·8
30	1,650	845	1,749	247	114	55	534	330	350	206	179	140	103	123	78·2	167	73·6
31	1,712	855	1,816	256	111	63	575	357	362	219	202	148	108	140	73·3	156	73·0
32	1,618	820	1,692	248	110	62	540	343	365	226	188	140	108	129	74·5	175	77·1
33	1,716	855	1,845	264	122	63	553	340	358	224	194	148	117	146	76·8	153	79·1
34	1,750	845	1,785	258	114	68	520	335	357	230	181	143	109	134	79·0	172	76·2
35	1,605	793	1,695	242	100	65	552	345	337	221	199	139	110	136	69·8	163	79·1
36	1,610	820	1,690	244	112	60	548	348	355	230	190	147	111	134	77·4	172	75·5

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—CHAUHÂN RÂJPUT—*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
37	1,638	833	1,748	240	110	69	562	352	355	218	200	145	112	141	72·5	155	77·2
38	1,612	812	1,688	238	108	64	545	325	338	225	178	138	106	130	77·5	173	76·8
39	1,627	825	1,650	235	104	63	528	335	355	217	183	143	109	133	78·1	163	76·6
40	1,605	790	1,630	236	106	59	530	330	335	218	184	140	106	131	76·1	166	75·5
41	1,630	870	1,700	260	113	71	525	340	345	212	183	130	94	132	71·0	161	72·3
42	1,703	880	1,760	270	117	63	561	360	346	230	196	139	104	135	70·9	170	74·8
43	1,720	810	1,821	275	112	64	525	335	338	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
44	1,586	810	1,740	245	113	62	534	334	325	213	185	130	100	120	75·7	178	76·9
45	1,735	867	1,838	266	116	59	528	305	325	228	178	130	115	124	72·5	180	88·5
46	1,608	820	1,710	253	111	64	543	331	338	214	190	135	100	131	71·1	163	74·1

47	1,533	765	1,615	234	111	59	513	324	341	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
48	1,603	810	1,665	240	107	63	550	360	350	224	187	140	109	130	74·9	172	77·9
49	1,620	820	1,690	251	108	60	509	325	335	220	176	130	106	127	73·9	174	81·5
50	1,680	845	1,770	250	109	60	518	325	335	223	175	138	97	127	78·9	176	70·2
Variation							SUMMARY.										
From	1,533	765	1,600	234	100	52	500	305	320	197	170	123	94	119	66·8	145	68·6
No.	47	47	15	47	35	27	15	145	22	28	25	24	41	24	8	14,20	27
To	1,816	890	1,885	275	122	73	575	370	380	230	202	157	117	146	86·4	180	88·5
No.	9	9	9	43	33	21	31	26	9	2,26,36,42	8,31	2	11,12	33	12	45	45
Mean	1,650	818	1,740	252	111	63	535	335	345	211	187	139	107	132	73·4	164	77·4
Average	1,651	818	1,743	256	113	63	536	336	345	211	188	139	108	131	74·4	162	77·4

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—SHAIKH (QURAISHI).

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,633	805	1,671	244	104	76	541	338	343	211	190	138	...	...	72·6	...	...
2	1,668	851	1,694	262	107	66	566	366	381	236	206	140	...	...	68·0	...	...
3	1,661	...	1,739	262	107	58	543	333	333	...	190	144	...	...	75·8	...	...
4	1,617	...	1,623	264	107	69	543	343	345	...	194	135	...	...	69·6	...	...
5	1,656	...	1,671	254	110	56	536	340	340	...	188	138	...	...	72·9	...	...
6	1,700	...	1,818	272	119	61	569	338	353	...	198	150	...	...	75·8	...	...
7	1,706	913	1,735	250	107	60	545	353	360	202	192	137	101	129	71·4	157	73·6
8	1,721	870	1,794	273	110	64	519	345	350	212	179	135	105	133	75·4	159	77·8
9	1,665	871	1,710	263	111	62	550	346	349	211	190	140	108	132	73·7	160	77·1

10	1,630	840	1,715	256	107	59	549	352	344	227	192	142	107	136	74·0	167	75·4
11	1,624	800	1,700	248	106	61	530	345	342	202	188	138	105	133	73·4	151	76·1
12	1,617	845	1,675	250	113	67	553	350	357	230	189	144	109	137	75·7	168	75·7
13	1,744	877	1,867	259	110	66	580	370	377	228	203	154	113	140	75·9	163	73·4
14	1,765	895	1,781	263	118	61	544	340	355	217	186	144	116	137	77·4	158	8·06
15	1,752	895	1,808	257	112	64	528	345	353	213	180	142	108	133	78·9	168	76·1
16	1,725	860	1,840	273	128	65	542	337	353	213	193	138	105	135	71·5	158	76·1
17	1,687	872	1,730	250	109	66	552	345	360	215	189	147	113	134	77·8	160	76·9
18	1,639	840	1,636	237	104	65	525	342	349	200	185	138	107	137	74·6	146	77·5
19	1,755	867	1,860	278	123	66	537	345	347	225	188	142	110	133	75·6	169	77·5
20	1,800	915	1,852	272	125	64	530	340	342	214	180	134	103	127	74·4	169	76·9
21	1,604	855	1,621	249	114	53	533	345	353	204	185	139	97	130	75·1	157	69·8
22	1,705	905	1,746	254	120	60	538	344	342	209	192	138	103	131	71·9	159	74·6
23	1,690	840	1,734	260	113	52	553	360	350	207	194	144	99	130	74·2	159	68·7
24	1,627	867	1,653	247	107	63	538	345	352	210	186	134	97	130	72·0	162	72·4
25	1,755	870	1,840	274	125	66	505	335	335	199	175	135	90	131	77·1	151	66·7
26	1,582	814	1,605	237	103	51	549	317	334	188	171	130	90	115	76·0	163	69·2

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—SHAIKH (QURAISHI) —*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
27	1,625	870	1,657	253	103	69	562	373	358	218	194	143	107	131	74·2	166	74·8
28	1,680	820	1,758	260	104	67	530	344	355	215	195	141	106	134	72·1	160	74·5
29	1,705	875	1,769	258	109	70	568	350	360	210	189	146	98	136	77·2	154	67·1
30	1,715	895	1,716	264	105	55	540	365	350	199	185	136	100	125	73·5	159	76·5
31	1,730	896	1,769	263	104	63	536	369	375	219	189	138	105	127	73·1	172	76·1
32	1,785	905	1,811	266	114	69	510	335	360	210	179	135	97	130	74·2	155	71·1
33	1,730	845	1,740	270	110	63	527	370	359	216	179	135	100	128	75·4	169	74·1
34	1,660	840	1,729	240	103	56	539	340	350	205	182	140	105	129	76·9	159	75·0
35	1,620	823	1,690	257	110	54	520	332	330	195	176	129	103	130	73·7	150	79·8

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—SHAIKH (SADIQI).

36	1,767	881	1,823	267	117	69	561	353	350	218	200	140	...	...	70·0	...	...
37	1,704	830	1,790	282	117	66	533	335	348	213	152	146	...	...	80·2	...	...
38	1,678	841	1,729	257	110	56	526	335	323	229	185	132	...	...	71·3	...	...
39	1,686	...	1,750	244	112	66	554	338	340	...	197	140	...	...	71·3	...	...
40	1,656	823	1,744	264	110	66	531	338	345	200	188	142	...	...	75·5	...	...
41	1,633	853	1,681	257	112	71	541	348	350	208	190	139	...	...	73·2	...	...
42	1,668	815	1,797	262	112	64	526	335	333	216	184	139	...	...	75·5	...	...
43	1,653	863	1,740	264	114	67	550	345	350	213	192	141	107	135	73·4	158	75·9
44	1,630	836	1,728	257	111	65	517	323	340	206	181	134	106	128	74·0	161	79·1
45	1,670	870	1,727	243	113	67	529	330	345	219	182	140	102	135	76·9	154	72·9
46	1,895	890	1,900	267	120	61	566	369	358	220	196	146	109	145	74·5	152	74·7
47	1,754	866	1,715	257	107	72	547	345	357	198	197	139	100	128	70·6	155	71·9
48	1,790	906	1,890	262	110	65	555	363	360	200	192	136	96	128	70·8	156	70·6
49	1,600	830	1,700	251	114	54	527	329	342	200	182	131	95	127	72·0	157	72·5
50	1,725	920	1,734	264	112	63	519	336	339	197	174	138	104	135	79·3	146	75·4
51	1,627	865	1,656	260	110	73	522	336	349	199	185	131	103	132	70·8	151	78·6

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—SHAIKH (SADIQI)—*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
52	1,725	890	1,770	259	120	63	530	337	340	205	190	137	106	132	72·1	155	77·4
53	1,635	834	1,719	237	105	58	534	326	332	194	194	132	95	127	62·8	153	71·2
54	1,625	845	1,644	246	109	57	540	327	323	204	187	133	103	132	71·1	155	77·4
55	1,764	920	1,830	278	123	62	546	358	372	205	186	143	108	137	76·9	150	75·5
56	1,662	865	1,744	260	114	61	543	345	351	200	187	133	103	138	71·1	145	77·4
57	1,615	825	1,661	251	110	57	533	323	321	205	186	132	104	131	70·9	156	78·8
58	1,655	826	1,748	243	112	54	522	320	347	201	178	140	110	141	78·7	143	78·6
59	1,575	813	1,606	232	109	59	525	350	345	195	186	135	100	130	72·6	150	74·1
60	1,679	875	1,753	260	110	52	521	330	345	191	177	140	103	133	79·1	144	73·6
61	1,650	822	1,695	250	113	59	543	330	345	203	182	144	101	130	79·1	156	70·1

62	1,648	807	1,730	234	110	61	530	335	334	193	184	139	103	129	75·5	150	74·1
63	1,670	832	1,764	254	107	57	540	358	353	194	190	140	104	128	73·7	152	74·3
64	1,674	855	1,790	259	113	60	520	340	345	200	175	139	103	131	78·9	153	74·1
65	1,614	820	1,615	240	101	61	519	345	350	212	177	135	105	127	76·3	167	77·8
66	1,708	865	1,726	262	103	55	510	340	352	217	177	142	106	132	80·0	164	74·6
67	1,720	866	1,770	255	105	59	540	357	360	197	186	135	99	126	72·6	156	73·3
68	1,665	945	1,799	259	113	59	538	340	350	227	179	140	100	132	78·2	172	71·4
69	1,655	820	1,718	245	107	60	530	350	330	221	182	136	95	127	69·8	174	69·1
70	1,625	940	1,700	261	103	52	518	319	340	185	176	142	102	128	80·5	133	71·1

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—SHAIKH.

71	1,775	886	1,848	274	119	61	551	350	358	218	195	137	...	...	70·3	...	...
72	1,584	863	1,582	249	107	64	559	366	361	221	192	141	...	...	73·4	...	...
73	1,663	830	1,651	241	99	58	526	343	330	216	183	145	...	...	79·2	...	...
74	1,544	764	1,663	259	107	61	516	325	323	193	181	136	...	...	75·1	...	...
75	1,767	886	1,747	269	117	69	546	345	361	226	190	140	...	...	73·7	...	...
76	1,663	825	1,704	254	110	64	566	361	361	221	200	143	...	...	71·5	...	...

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—SHAIKH —*continued.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
77	1,734	871	1,752	269	117	61	564	361	361	211	194	150	...	...	77·3	...	...
78	1,541	818	1,592	231	99	53	518	333	338	211	182	138	...	...	75·8	...	...
79	1,648	848	1,709	254	112	61	546	323	330	213	192	140	...	...	72·9	...	...
80	1,645	838	1,681	262	107	53	538	330	348	213	191	138	...	...	73·3	...	...
81	1,633	846	1,757	259	110	61	546	330	350	200	185	148	...	...	80·0	...	...
82	1,651	823	1,724	257	104	64	538	333	340	216	189	137	...	...	72·5	...	...
83	1,602	833	1,722	257	107	66	526	345	330	231	185	141	...	...	76·2	...	...
84	1,696	858	1,750	269	117	64	521	343	348	203	189	134	...	...	70·9	...	...
85	1,564	795	1,607	241	104	61	516	330	323	213	180	133	...	...	73·9	...	...
86	1,694	863	1,739	259	107	58	538	358	338	206	193	133	...	...	68·9	...	...

87	1.690	846	1.759	260	111	61	528	326	359	202	177	140	103	131	79·1	154	73·6
88	1.715	864	1.780	261	120	66	529	339	332	195	180	137	102	132	76·1	148	74·5
89	1.770	875	1.820	262	122	60	519	349	352	192	181	135	94	128	74·6	150	69·6
90	1.603	815	1.680	260	115	58	518	325	333	200	178	131	100	126	73·6	159	76·3
91	1.635	855	1.710	245	116	63	539	367	345	205	186	137	97	126	73·7	163	70·9
92	1.631	865	1.630	236	107	68	519	315	319	180	176	130	100	130	73·9	138	76·9
93	1.830	835	1.895	267	122	57	546	338	359	215	186	139	96	131	74·8	164	69·1
94	1.693	840	1.750	249	112	61	544	350	365	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
95	1.580	810	1.640	256	110	60	516	330	340	194	178	136	94	130	76·0	149	69·1
96	1.690	855	1.790	264	115	64	538	340	350	193	179	144	109	134	80·8	144	75·7
97	1.709	845	1.835	270	117	56	526	344	352	216	180	135	98	129	75·0	167	72·6
98	1.605	810	1.670	243	110	52	540	350	340	218	179	135	105	124	75·4	144	77·8
99	1.670	870	1.725	261	110	60	540	350	340	314	188	134	110	127	71·8	169	82·1
100	1.620	810	1.750	238	105	57	520	320	330	197	176	128	100	124	75·3	159	78·1
101	1.620	810	1.665	250	110	62	550	340	350	210	182	138	107	127	75·8	165	77·5
102	1.670	805	1.725	253	110	63	530	340	340	206	179	133	105	124	74·3	141	78·9
103	1.660	800	1.775	253	110	57	540	340	340	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—SHAIKH—concluded.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
104	1,695	850	1,750	261	120	61	520	330	334	200	181	132	96	127	72·9	157	72·7
105	1,680	830	1,765	260	120	54	520	340	340	195	176	133	104	128	75·2	152	78·2
Variation.								SUMMARY.									
From .	1,541	764	1,582	231	99	51	505	315	319	180	176	128	90	115	62·8	133	66·7
No. .																	
To .	1,830	945	1,900	282	128	76	580	373	381	236	206	154	116	145	80·8	174	82·1
No. .																	
Mean .	1,670	860	1,730	258	110	62	538	341	348	208	184	138	103	130	74·9	156	74·7
Average .	1,672	860	1,729	256	111	61	536	342	351	206	182	137	107	130	72·9	156	74·7

							FOR QURAISHI.										
Do. .	1,684	862	1,736	258	111	62	541	345	350	211	187	140	101	131	75·1	160	74·5
							FOR SADÎQI.										
Do. .	1,670	878	1,725	255	111	61	534	342	345	205	176	138	103	132	74·4	154	74·5
							FOR OTHERS.										
Do. .	1,662	841	1,727	256	112	61	534	340	343	204	184	132	102	129	69 3	154	75·1

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—BHANTU.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Left Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,722	856	1,887	269	122	61	546	356	363	211	185	143	116	128	73·0	165	81·1
2	1,635	858	1,878	254	110	61	538	333	348	198	184	140	114	131	70·7	151	81·4
3	1,648	820	1,701	269	114	61	531	315	333	211	186	146	123	134	78·5	157	84·2
4	1,661	846	1,734	254	112	64	528	330	345	196	184	146	124	140	79·3	140	84·9
5	1,706	834	1,775	257	110	64	521	323	330	206	185	140	115	140	75·7	147	82·1
6	1,623	808	1,678	239	110	56	528	305	328	208	182	142	121	134	78·0	155	85·2
7	1,666	820	1,729	251	112	58	533	333	335	224	187	136	113	132	72·7	169	83·1
8	1,592	843	1,623	241	104	64	495	317	330	216	173	129	112	132	74·6	163	86·8
9	1,498	797	1,587	224	102	64	531	305	330	208	185	140	122	134	75·7	155	87·1
10	1,656	858	1,729	262	114	64	546	333	338	216	194	141	120	135	72·7	160	85·1

11	1.727	871	1.807	266	119	66	528	333	335	216	184	135	111	131	87·4	165	82·2
12	1.536	808	1.582	239	107	56	531	330	335	196	186	141	108	127	75·8	154	76·6
13	1.579	838	1.676	249	114	64	528	320	353	188	182	143	121	136	78·6	138	84·6
14	1.628	830	1.678	241	102	66	520	312	335	190	182	136	115	132	74·7	144	84·6
15	1.714	868	1.825	263	114	64	538	343	345	208	195	139	125	143	71·3	145	89·6
16	1.569	780	1.676	251	102	69	521	330	312	193	184	137	...	...	74·5	...	...
17	1.706	886	1.722	264	114	61	518	330	323	226	186	132	...	...	71·0	...	...
18	1.557	825	1.551	246	102	61	516	312	330	...	172	141	...	...	82·0	...	...
19	1.725	875	1.810	267	116	62	523	320	323	220	180	136	102	132	75·6	167	75·0
20	1.715	835	1.885	264	116	59	539	349	350	215	181	138	100	129	76·2	167	72·5
21	1.617	840	1.675	240	113	54	531	327	321	200	186	139	97	130	74·7	154	69·8
22	1.655	858	1.757	250	112	59	525	331	339	204	180	137	102	126	76·1	162	75·2
23	1.705	868	1.783	252	111	62	518	326	338	199	176	128	105	135	72·7	147	78·2
24	1.652	854	1.726	267	98	58	544	335	333	207	194	139	105	128	71·6	162	75·5
25	1.615	825	1.652	251	110	62	508	310	330	199	185	129	100	128	69·7	155	77·5
26	1.654	850	1.737	254	99	62	519	325	340	203	179	139	105	130	77·7	156	75·5
27	1.569	838	1.604	251	106	57	532	330	342	205	182	141	112	127	77·4	161	79·4

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—BHÂNTU —*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
28	1,555	808	1,619	250	111	61	528	349	359	205	182	135	104	131	74·2	156	77·7
29	1,632	862	1,665	245	115	62	526	336	339	201	180	136	103	125	75·6	161	75·7
30	1,682	856	1,768	254	109	60	529	328	329	195	183	135	108	128	73·8	152	80·0
Average .	1,640	841	1,711	252	110	65	527	327	336	199	184	138	97	128	75·3	140	72·5

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—BRÂHMAN (GAUR.)

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1.584	797	1.691	246	110	69	533	345	345	213	181	141	..	...	77·9	...	...
2	1.648	841	1.704	267	114	69	546	348	343	244	198	143	...	...	72·2	...	...
3	1.584	818	1.582	246	99	66	541	343	340	231	192	139	...	...	72·4	...	...
4	1.722	874	1.750	257	114	58	564	368	368	224	198	142	...	...	71·7	...	...
5	1.582	838	1.696	244	104	66	561	358	350	211	198	141	...	...	71·2	...	...
6	1.653	846	1.661	264	107	61	538	350	340	213	187	138	...	...	73·8	...	...
7	1.617	810	1.633	262	107	66	538	338	353	229	194	141	...	...	72·7	...	...
8	1.663	...	1.711	257	112	...	579	353	356	...	193	152	...	...	78·8	...	...
9	1.607	...	1.584	257	110	...	541	328	345	...	191	141	...	...	73·8	...	...

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—BRÂHMAN (GAUR)—*continued.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
10	1,742	...	1,823	274	110	...	559	335	353	...	195	151	...	...	77·4	...	...
11	1,747	...	1,772	279	119	...	546	325	343	...	192	146	...	...	76·0	...	...
12	1,549	...	1,656	244	99	...	526	312	325	...	183	140	...	...	76·5	...	...
13	1.689	...	1,739	269	110	...	554	340	325	...	194	141	...	...	72·7	...	...
14	1,643	...	1,648	246	104	64	541	358	350	...	190	145	...	...	76·3	...	...
15	1,651	...	1,691	246	110	64	546	353	343	...	186	142	...	...	76·4	...	...
16	1,658	...	1,643	236	107	64	536	356	348	...	187	142	...	...	75·9	...	...
17	1,615	...	1,709	267	114	66	541	353	340	...	189	140	...	...	74·1	...	...
18	1,668	...	1,744	269	119	69	541	350	343	...	195	141	...	...	72·3	...	...

20	1,668	892	1,745	258	111	63	543	347	347	215	190	143	120	137	75·3	157	83·9
21	1,655	867	1,752	254	117	58	548	330	352	209	188	141	102	133	75·0	157	72·3
22	1,580	777	1,657	242	113	66	519	324	326	195	181	126	96	122	69·6	160	76·1
23	1,540	808	1,735	232	109	59	534	335	332	194	181	135	105	125	74·6	155	77·7
24	1,615	818	1,660	230	114	60	536	341	339	205	187	133	103	126	71·1	163	77·4
25	1,555	782	1,680	230	104	66	527	330	342	198	176	131	108	125	74·8	158	82·4
26	1,705	891	1,730	249	112	68	526	338	342	210	189	131	95	131	69·3	160	72·5
27	1,615	835	1,702	256	111	69	544	350	343	203	187	134	100	135	71·7	150	74·6
28	1,635	846	1,635	234	103	58	534	344	345	209	180	135	102	125	75·0	167	75·6
29	1,647	860	1,687	239	107	60	546	340	350	211	183	145	101	135	79·2	156	69·6
30	1,720	870	1,739	263	117	59	510	325	334	198	183	124	96	124	67·8	160	77·4
31	1,715	860	1,825	251	117	56	522	312	332	197	178	132	96	127	74·8	155	74·2
32	1,692	845	1,798	257	115	62	535	331	345	216	190	130	110	126	68·4	171	84·6
33	1,691	849	1,823	269	116	60	551	334	333	228	195	133	103	132	68·2	173	77·4
34	1,519	780	1,714	235	108	62	537	331	340	208	185	135	98	125	72·9	166	72·6
35	1,651	840	1,740	264	117	71	537	342	330	218	190	130	104	128	68·4	172	80·0
36	1,625	825	1,683	255	112	54	539	340	333	230	188	130	100	130	69·1	177	76·9

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—BRÂHMAN (GAUR) —*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
37	1,710	865	1,753	256	108	58	564	368	345	229	195	140	104	135	71·8	170	74·3
38	1,625	833	1,702	250	109	60	522	322	330	203	179	129	99	128	72·1	159	76·7
39	1,645	853	1,724	251	110	62	533	345	362	226	189	140	98	130	74·1	174	70·0
Average .	1,660	837	1,735	2	113	63	528	336	335	213	191	138	102	128	73·3	163	75·8

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—DHÎMAR.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,630	828	1,695	246	102	59	548	360	350	201	195	138	108	136	70·8	148	78·3
2	1,696	855	1,815	266	113	68	542	335	347	203	195	138	116	143	70·8	142	84·1
3	1,588	845	1,585	251	105	59	260	365	355	209	198	139	106	131	70·2	160	76·3
4	1,602	835	1,700	255	112	62	535	335	338	205	191	133	103	132	69·6	155	77·4
5	1,667	825	1,685	245	104	58	528	330	330	207	186	134	90	127	72·0	163	67·2
6	1,705	852	1,845	276	112	59	545	350	358	215	192	138	108	136	71·9	158	78·3
7	1,618	833	1,705	253	110	67	545	350	355	205	190	140	105	137	73·7	150	75·0
8	1,640	842	1,700	260	103	57	543	353	350	220	196	142	108	134	72·4	164	76·1
9	1,695	865	1,775	266	111	60	530	355	345	220	192	143	107	133	74·5	165	74·1

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—DHÎMAR—*continued.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
10	1,545	813	1,565	235	110	62	538	345	340	203	188	133	110	128	70·7	159	82·7
11	1,625	830	1,675	245	110	63	560	352	359	210	195	141	116	133	72·3	158	82·8
12	1,560	800	1,645	238	104	63	538	335	338	212	195	133	106	131	68·2	162	79·7
13	1,610	835	1,600	230	99	69	533	325	340	201	189	143	120	139	76·2	145	83·9
14	1,635	875	1,675	246	108	65	550	352	355	220	194	138	107	133	71·1	165	77·8
15	1,656	855	1,700	260	112	60	527	343	345	220	184	138	110	133	75·0	165	79·6
16	1,682	861	1,805	265	98	60	574	375	375	240	208	142	115	142	68·3	169	81·0
17	1,678	856	1,765	258	120	62	545	358	350	203	190	139	110	133	73·2	153	79·1
18	1,625	830	1,650	249	105	60	532	350	345	208	187	135	103	131	72·2	159	76·3
19	1,637	835	1,715	246	101	59	535	345	354	204	192	134	109	135	69·8	151	81·3

20	1,635	810	1,700	254	119	62	533	344	347	215	185	135	101	125	73·0	171	74·8
21	1,620	815	1,750	250	111	60	517	322	339	200	181	135	97	127	74·6	157	71·9
22	1,720	884	1,750	270	116	60	530	334	345	199	185	133	97	127	71·9	157	72·9
23	1,621	810	1,689	251	115	60	540	334	340	198	187	136	105	129	72·7	153	77·2
24	1,620	800	1,702	250	112	57	539	334	350	192	182	131	96	125	72·0	154	73·3
25	1,680	847	1,785	267	110	56	539	344	340	196	187	140	98	125	74·9	157	70·0
26	1,623	802	1,705	243	106	62	540	320	330	194	186	135	106	130	72·6	149	78·5
27	1,658	810	1,770	263	111	60	535	330	330	208	190	138	103	128	72·6	163	74·6
28	1,675	822	1,730	254	111	56	503	310	315	196	179	136	100	125	75·4	157	73·5
29	1,720	874	1,723	249	101	58	530	327	335	220	188	136	105	130	72·3	170	77·3
30	1,671	890	1,755	262	111	61	534	315	324	198	178	139	110	135	78·1	147	79·1
31	1,665	850	1,760	254	111	61	543	343	345	205	192	145	109	128	75·5	190	75·1
32	1,692	832	1,730	251	105	61	520	338	340	210	178	136	105	132	76·4	151	77·2
33	1,580	822	1,638	234	103	65	530	310	310	199	187	130	97	125	96·5	159	74·6
34	1,610	820	1,723	253	103	60	528	330	335	207	184	140	95	126	76·1	164	67·9
35	1,725	915	1,815	279	110	69	534	335	335	215	186	135	105	130	72·6	165	77·8
36	1,660	852	1,723	249	105	66	538	330	324	212	185	135	100	129	73·0	164	74·1

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—DHÎMAR—*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
37	1,655	820	1,750	252	100	64	510	304	310	198	177	135	105	130	76·3	152	77·8
38	1,670	855	1,750	270	110	64	525	320	330	221	194	133	97	130	68·6	170	72·9
39	1,665	855	1,700	251	110	59	505	318	330	205	177	138	97	125	78·0	164	70·3
40	1,655	825	1,700	245	105	62	526	315	325	202	183	133	100	130	72·7	155	75·2
41	1,685	850	1,735	255	111	63	543	329	332	212	180	135	113	135	75·0	157	83·7
42	1,565	785	1,673	246	109	66	528	340	325	203	185	130	100	128	70·3	159	76·6
43	1,630	810	1,756	255	110	56	530	330	328	221	195	130	100	129	66·7	171	76·6
44	1,560	755	1,610	234	110	56	530	330	326	203	188	132	105	126	70·2	161	79·7
Average .	1,644	838	1,655	253	108	61	535	336	332	203	187	136	106	131	73·5	158	76·6

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—GADARIYA.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,606	820	1,612	242	101	56	540	345	343	207	187	139	109	137	74·3	151	78·4
2	1,526	780	1,562	239	105	67	533	355	343	198	188	133	99	125	70·7	158	74·4
3	1,595	805	1,630	235	102	62	557	340	353	190	193	143	117	138	74·1	138	81·8
4	1,648	872	1,670	242	100	67	545	360	365	201	188	142	105	127	75·5	158	73·9
5	1,632	845	1,685	238	108	59	528	338	335	205	181	137	110	131	75·5	156	80·3
6	1,705	855	1,720	253	112	65	537	335	345	200	187	140	110	140	74·8	143	78·6
7	1,647	855	1,700	256	106	61	550	348	345	207	191	149	117	142	78·0	146	78·5
8	1,694	863	1,800	260	116	59	546	370	365	212	189	140	102	138	74·1	154	72·9
9	1,626	790	1,676	254	118	56	494	323	325	193	176	130	101	131	73·8	147	77·7

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—GADARIYA—*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
10	1,615	865	1,703	262	121	53	533	350	350	200	185	134	100	131	72·4	153	74·6
11	1,610	790	1,700	250	109	61	513	320	339	188	173	138	100	130	79·8	145	72·5
12	1,622	802	1,730	246	114	56	500	310	328	192	171	130	97	129	76·0	149	74·6
13	1,594	785	1,715	258	121	54	523	331	345	185	180	135	102	124	75·0	141	75·6
14	1,580	767	1,690	243	105	60	495	309	326	200	176	130	96	123	73·8	163	73·8
15	1,709	829	1,771	260	107	63	532	353	349	209	190	139	99	124	73·2	169	71·2
16	1,770	854	1,875	274	120	62	540	340	334	228	185	138	110	125	74·6	182	79·2
17	1,615	802	1,690	257	110	63	540	333	336	223	188	138	110	130	73·4	172	79·7
18	1,685	850	1,720	254	110	56	540	330	342	220	190	135	112	132	71·1	166	83·0
19	1,610	820	1,755	240	110	64	530	330	354	204	185	132	110	125	71·4	163	83·3

20	1,670	860	1,765	240	102	61	540	341	342	232	185	134	105	125	72·4	186	78·3
21	1,685	870	1,745	274	120	65	529	328	330	220	180	125	100	129	69·4	171	80·0
22	1,605	810	1,697	263	112	62	544	344	350	189	182	135	100	127	74·2	149	74·1
23	1,535	815	1,680	250	110	58	526	336	343	190	179	133	97	125	74·3	152	72·9
Average .	1,632	826	1,713	252	110	61	535	338	343	204	182	136	105	130	74·0	157	81·3

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—HÂBÛRA.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diametre.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Maximum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diametre.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,727	853	1,795	239	114	64	508	330	368	224	178	140	117	137	78·7	164	83·6
2	1,666	876	1,734	236	114	71	556	343	340	216	198	145	117	140	73·2	152	80·7
3	1,656	843	1,727	241	114	64	541	330	356	216	191	142	111	132	74·3	164	78·2
4	1,744	914	1,803	272	122	64	551	361	361	226	191	143	116	139	74·9	163	81·1
5	1,742	861	1,742	267	110	66	521	317	363	229	188	139	121	134	74·0	171	87·1
6	1,602	823	1,656	251	110	66	528	338	363	218	186	143	105	131	76·9	166	73 4
7	1,671	879	1,704	259	110	61	546	356	363	229	196	142	105	132	73·0	173	73·9
8	1,747	901	1,807	272	119	64	546	361	381	226	188	150	116	140	79·8	161	77·3
9	1,498	905	1,579	234	107	69	503	315	328	206	182	129	108	131	70·9	157	83·7
10	1,567	795	1,572	236	107	61	505	328	335	200	180	128	108	122	71·1	164	84·4

11	2,743	894	1,752	262	119	71	541	340	361	216	190	141	114	144	74·2	150	80·9
12	1,590	838	1,635	246	104	61	528	330	345	216	183	147	101	130	80·3	166	68·7
13	1,607	851	1,617	236	99	58	546	343	361	218	189	149	118	135	78·7	161	79·2
14	1,714	881	1,658	244	110	58	526	335	361	224	182	141	109	125	77·4	179	77·3
15	1,711	851	1,739	254	107	58	531	335	343	221	187	142	109	133	75·9	166	76·8
16	1,699	863	1,772	251	117	66	546	340	373	231	192	144	117	132	75·0	175	81·2
17	1,681	838	1,684	244	102	51	541	340	350	208	189	147	...	...	77·7	...	...
18	1,595	843	1,590	254	107	64	528	356	343	213	194	137	111	125	70·6	170	81·0
19	1,663	871	1,625	241	107	58	534	338	343	218	185	146	115	133	78·8	164	79·5
20	1,625	830	1,696	259	114	66	516	330	333	196	182	140	113	130	76·9	151	80·7
21	1,685	870	1,800	279	115	60	555	341	350	223	196	147	109	134	75·0	166	74·8
22	1,675	830	1,740	257	110	60	520	329	332	202	180	132	105	129	73·3	157	79·5
23	1,635	840	1,665	250	106	55	530	334	346	198	180	134	103	133	74·2	149	76·9
24	1,680	820	1,770	251	105	54	526	328	329	190	186	130	99	128	69·9	148	76·2
25	1,690	860	1,760	256	101	57	525	340	340	199	186	138	103	133	74·0	150	74·6
Average .	1,664	853	1,704	252	110	62	531	338	350	214	187	141	110	128	75·2	162	78·8

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—KÂYASTH.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,656	846	1,694	254	102	64	546	348	338	234	196	137	...	...	69·9	...	...
2	1,684	843	1,714	244	107	71	549	358	361	203	193	139	...	...	72·0	...	...
3	1,640	838	1,727	254	107	69	551	356	356	200	197	139	...	...	70·1	...	...
4	1,567	791	1,556	223	96	55	522	343	337	200	187	137	109	127	73·3	157	79·6
5	1,627	824	1,678	253	105	60	523	347	337	218	187	136	115	135	72·7	161	84·6
6	1,600	779	1,637	235	102	57	523	320	322	215	185	135	100	126	73·0	171	74·1
7	1,710	816	1,780	246	105	58	530	340	320	206	188	135	105	132	71·8	156	77·8
8	1,745	829	1,777	247	117	60	537	355	338	215	198	137	110	134	69·2	160	87·6
9	1,697	825	1,762	261	106	53	538	357	338	212	188	138	108	135	73·4	157	78·3
10	1,657	842	1,700	261	107	61	560	363	345	212	203	139	102	138	68·5	154	73·4

11	1,606	802	1,710	260	112	70	550	345	360	197	189	143	117	143	76·7	138	81·3
12	1,690	865	1,840	251	105	57	520	336	345	204	175	136	106	122	77·7	167	77·9
13	1,635	857	1,677	249	105	57	537	340	345	205	183	140	106	127	76·5	161	75·7
14	1,700	895	1,685	254	110	61	530	344	340	209	190	131	100	130	68·9	161	76·3
15	1,694	865	1,766	267	108	58	540	350	347	206	185	134	102	127	72·4	162	76·1
16	1,695	860	1,715	254	100	57	526	360	344	193	177	131	108	130	74·1	148	82·4
17	1,725	885	1,801	250	104	56	544	352	361	220	183	143	109	143	78·1	153	76·2
18	1,610	855	1,695	255	107	61	529	370	359	202	188	143	103	135	76·1	150	72·0
19	1,650	820	1,750	240	103	56	535	346	350	184	183	141	98	128	77·0	144	69·5
20	1,665	845	1,705	237	106	51	523	334	331	193	179	135	96	126	75·4	153	71·1
21	1,655	840	1,769	259	108	59	550	370	364	212	184	140	100	134	76·1	158	71·4
22	1,530	825	1,616	228	106	64	561	340	334	209	192	135	110	132	70·3	158	81·5
23	1,625	853	1,742	263	110	60	550	342	340	220	190	140	109	133	73·7	166	77·9
24	1,710	825	1,795	250	110	56	530	330	330	209	186	139	100	128	74·7	155	71·9
25	1,690	845	1,765	251	114	60	530	335	340	200	180	136	102	128	75·6	156	75·0
Average .	1,659	839	1,722	250	106	59	537	346	344	207	183	138	105	132	73·4	157	76·7

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NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—JHANGÂRA RÂJPUTS.

	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,714	891	1,851	257	117	76	566	376	376	231	192	151	120	141	78·6	164	79·5
2	1,684	869	1,765	254	114	71	559	363	361	216	194	146	115	135	75·3	160	78·8
3	1,770	879	1,838	259	114	64	559	356	366	200	193	147	116	140	76·2	743	78·9
4	1,668	858	1,729	259	112	66	541	343	348	183	185	143	116	140	77·4	131	81·1
5	1,752	838	1,803	254	119	71	518	328	356	200	178	135	118	135	75·8	148	87·4
6	1,676	856	1,760	254	114	69	549	358	366	200	195	136	114	136	69·7	147	83·8
7	1,734	884	1,815	264	124	69	554	361	353	216	203	139	111	136	68·4	159	79·9
8	1,696	838	1,760	249	110	64	549	348	353	206	200	140	110	132	70·0	156	78·6
9	1,770	909	1,825	264	119	61	566	358	376	211	204	144	125	142	70·6	149	86·8
10	1,661	833	1,714	251	117	66	546	350	356	213	191	145	120	135	76·0	158	82·8

11	1,6 0	828	1,650	244	102	64	541	350	353	221	194	139	...	...	71·6	...	...
12	1,671	853	1,727	262	112	58	543	356	356	211	195	140	...	...	71·6	...	...
13	1,652	895	1,730	248	109	67	564	358	354	206	195	144	118	142	73·6	145	81·9
14	1,658	865	1,767	263	105	60	562	345	364	205	194	139	110	129	71·6	159	79·1
15	1,783	925	1,835	275	117	63	571	359	373	225	197	144	115	143	73·1	157	79·9
16	1,655	875	1,648	241	99	59	553	360	370	207	194	142	109	132	73·2	157	76·8
17	1.640	863	1,665	240	105	70	542	348	329	213	191	133	104	132	69·6	160	78 6
18	1,665	908	1.695	252	109	61	516	320	328	203	180	136	103	126	75·6	163	75·7
19	1,708	872	1,761	256	104	65	570	350	350	220	200	144	107	137	72·0	161	74·3
20	1,785	890	1,830	264	111	63	553	335	347	222	197	140	118	140	71·0	159	84·3
21	1,740	945	1,755	264	112	68	545	360	355	227	197	134	103	133	68·0	171	76·9
22	1,720	880	1,850	260	110	67	545	369	370	223	187	146	112	140	78·1	159	77·5
23	1,690	895	1,729	255	110	64	540	345	354	225	186	241	103	133	75·0	169	73·0
24	1,690	876	1,750	255	110	61	535	332	349	224	185	139	99	130	75·1	172	71·2
25	1.780	805	1,895	255	115	62	525	334	325	203	184	131	100	131	71·2	154	76·3
26	1,765	855	1,822	265	108	65	533	330	348	212	180	139	100	134	77·2	157	71·9
27	1,710	863	1,749	265	104	61	562	370	360	236	195	139	103	135	71·3	175	74·1
28	1,590	790	1,670	251	108	60	540	353	352	221	188	140	100	133	74·5	167	71·4
Average .	1,702	866	1,767	257	111	65	549	351	372	214	192	137	110	136	73·7	158	78·9

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—BARGÛJAR RÂJPUTS.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Antero-posterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,732	884	1,815	279	119	66	538	348	356	243	195	137	...	...	70·3	...	...
2	1,750	881	1,859	259	107	64	571	383	368	241	203	142	...	...	70·0	...	...
3	1,701	838	1,772	264	119	64	564	371	381	241	201	145	...	...	72·6	...	...
4	1,769	792	1,635	246	102	56	526	330	353	200	187	141	...	...	75·6	...	...
5	1,628	813	1,612	262	110	58	541	361	371	239	194	142	...	...	73·2	...	...
6	1,656	841	1,797	254	107	69	556	368	376	236	201	143	...	...	71·1	...	...
7	1,784	869	1,869	267	117	66	551	340	376	216	198	145	...	...	73·2	...	...
8	1,848	896	1,981	282	117	64	538	330	345	206	192	140	...	...	72·9	...	...
9	1,709	858	1,815	257	110	69	541	340	361	231	195	142	...	...	72·8	...	...
10	1,656	843	1,765	257	110	76	538	348	363	188	191	139	119	130	72·8	145	85·6

11	1,734	881	1,820	262	117	64	533	333	350	211	186	136	122	138	73·1	153	69·0
12	1,658	...	1,797	254	117	61	549	333	330	...	190	130	...	...	68·1	...	...
13	1,628	...	1,673	251	107	58	533	330	330	...	188	130	...	...	69·1	...	...
14	1,755	858	1,841	267	112	69	538	353	356	206	193	137	...	...	71·0	...	...
15	1,630	830	1,766	254	112	60	540	335	340	199	182	140	111	126	76·9	158	79·3
16	1,695	855	1,755	257	112	57	541	347	339	205	187	133	106	131	71·1	156	79·7
17	1,730	840	1,842	260	120	70	535	335	350	219	185	139	105	142	75·1	154	75·5
18	1,770	890	1,811	271	120	63	555	360	355	223	193	142	103	133	73·6	168	72·5
19	1,718	875	1,805	277	120	64	535	335	335	207	190	130	102	135	68·4	153	78·4
20	1,709	880	1,805	263	110	62	545	329	340	224	187	139	102	137	74·3	164	73·4
Average .	1,701	945	1,791	262	113	64	543	345	354	217	192	139	109	134	71·8	156	77·7

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—BRÂHMAN (SANÂDH).

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,744	881	1,836	279	119	66	533	328	345	211	193	138	...	...	71·4	...	...
2	1,630	846	1,717	254	107	69	541	333	340	216	192	144	...	...	75·0	...	...
3	1,700	848	1,772	259	107	61	541	333	348	208	184	146	...	...	79·4	...	...
4	1,706	856	1,828	259	112	64	566	343	353	234	200	148	...	...	74·0	...	...
5	1,770	896	1,841	284	114	66	551	358	368	221	191	144	...	...	75·3	...	...
6	1,709	874	1,702	274	110	69	549	366	361	208	199	139	...	...	69·9	...	...
7	1,747	863	1,815	274	119	64	549	358	361	208	191	146	...	...	76·4	...	...
8	1,724	863	1,820	269	114	69	566	356	356	208	201	146	...	...	72·6	...	...
9	1,612	835	1,711	257	107	56	538	348	343	221	190	139	...	...	73·2	...	...
10	1,607	823	1,700	254	104	64	559	353	348	213	200	144	...	...	72·0	...	...

11	1,810	609	1,864	228	117	64	546	345	348	200	195	140	...	...	71·8	...	...
12	1,765	896	1,823	282	117	64	559	356	373	226	194	145	...	...	74·7	...	...
13	1,663	856	1,694	282	112	66	549	348	363	218	195	145	...	...	74·4	...	...
14	1,727	820	1,765	267	110	66	536	345	343	208	190	135	...	...	71·1	...	...
15	1,660	855	1,740	266	105	57	526	340	350	222	186	136	102	131	73·1	169	75·0
16	1,582	835	1,627	260	114	71	549	345	350	229	186	138	97	136	74·2	168	70·3
17	1,590	810	1,637	244	110	61	525	315	320	207	187	134	107	130	71·7	160	79·9
18	1,672	852	1,722	248	111	58	553	361	357	236	200	135	103	130	67·5	182	76·3
19	1,630	835	1,749	256	117	64	526	325	330	222	186	130	105	130	69·9	171	80·8
20	1,594	776	1,670	234	104	64	536	343	352	211	185	145	113	130	78·4	162	77·9
21	1,660	827	1,768	244	107	56	534	330	341	222	182	140	102	128	76·9	173	72·9
22	1,732	915	1,770	265	114	67	573	378	370	225	200	142	110	130	71·0	173	77·5
23	1,673	805	1,782	256	117	57	508	320	325	220	179	133	110	126	74·3	175	82·7
24	1,685	840	1,755	249	116	59	520	336	343	220	185	132	112	135	71·4	163	84·8
25	1,604	824	1,724	227	107	56	535	322	340	190	185	140	94	130	75·7	146	67·1
26	1,605	850	1,685	252	114	60	538	360	360	224	190	136	102	126	71·6	178	75·0
27	1,625	826	1,686	233	105	61	534	340	330	194	179	129	98	129	72·1	150	76·0
Average .	1,675	848	1,749	260	111	63	542	343	349	191	191	140	104	130	73·7	167	76·6

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—BBHURJI.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Maximum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,554	805	1,549	229	99	69	528	340	330	190	190	139	109	127	73·2	150	78·4
2	1,591	845	1,567	237	99	58	558	342	362	206	190	145	116	138	76·3	149	80·4
3	1,662	820	1,765	246	108	59	532	335	338	215	186	139	110	136	74·7	158	79·1
4	1,667	857	1,740	256	117	60	538	365	353	207	196	134	112	132	63·3	157	83·6
5	1,615	825	1,705	251	108	66	520	330	335	213	181	134	104	127	74·0	168	77·6
6	1,630	845	1,690	248	110	62	542	345	344	212	190	139	102	128	73·2	166	73·5
7	1,590	839	1,621	250	111	62	542	341	350	202	190	138	100	126	72.6	160	72 5
8	1,585	823	1,650	241	109	63	512	320	323	186	173	130	101	126	75·1	148	77·7
9	1,649	820	1,684	255	111	65	522	330	341	190	186	129	96	128	69·4	148	74·4
10	1,680	830	1,725	246	105	57	508	322	335	212	176	138	101	131	78·4	162	37·2

11	1.650	850	1.775	233	115	59	520	323	325	214	154	132	100	130	71·7	165	75·8
12	1,600	804	1.718	242	103	63	526	325	333	206	185	130	99	125	70·3	165	76 2
13	1.590	806	1,645	247	100	58	530	325	330	215	183	134	102	124	73 2	173	76·1
14	1.600	820	1.759	254	111	63	533	350	336	214	195	142	105	125	72 8	171	73·9
15	1.640	825	1,695	243	105	66	526	330	335	206	178	134	102	126	75·8	163	76·1
16	1,591	780	1,699	233	104	58	525	326	328	207	188	134	98	127	71·3	163	73·1
17	1,612	810	1,680	246	110	61	528	335	327	200	185	134	108	130	72·4	154	80·6
18	1,680	845	1,750	258	114	66	526	329	330	217	180	138	100	130	76·7	167	71·7
19	1,600	810	1,718	241	108	61	529	330	330	204	184	134	98	131	72·8	155	73·1
20	1,590	805	1,666	243	109	60	528	336	332	196	179	130	100	125	72·6	157	76·9
21	1,590	825	1.709	245	106	60	530	360	360	214	184	143	100	129	77·7	164	69·9
Average .	1,618	823	1 691	246	108	64	529	335	337	206	185	136	117	129	73·2	160	75·9

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—MEWÂTI.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,742	881	1,807	264	112	61	546	373	376	229	201	133	...	...	66·2	...	...
2	1,671	858	1,739	241	102	58	538	358	348	231	194	133	...	...	69·6	...	...
3	1,689	838	1,752	254	102	69	538	356	350	234	195	140	...	...	71·8	...	...
4	1,694	835	1,793	259	107	58	526	335	348	193	184	141	...	...	76·6	...	...
5	1,694	881	1,755	254	112	61	526	343	330	208	190	131	...	...	68·9	...	...
6	1,643	833	1,701	239	104	58	516	330	335	203	185	139	...	...	75·1	...	...
7	1,651	800	1,734	249	104	61	538	323	340	211	184	138	117	131	75·0	161	84·8
8	1,724	853	1,782	269	119	69	554	350	340	211	200	136	114	133	68·0	159	83·8
9	1,668	830	1,732	274	117	61	533	330	330	200	188	137	107	132	72·9	152	78·0
10	1,658	838	1,737	257	107	64	541	343	350	231	193	138	117	131	71·5	176	84·7

11	1,737	868	1,841	287	114	66	538	356	361	211	193	137	116	141	71·0	150	84·7
12	1,549	782	1,638	236	107	64	523	338	330	229	184	137	111	130	74·5	176	81·0
13	1,714	828	1,869	267	117	64	549	350	361	216	192	142	121	139	73·9	155	85·2
14	1,648	841	1,671	257	112	61	526	338	343	196	185	135	108	126	73·0	156	80·0
15	1,546	805	1,558	235	105	63	575	330	320	205	181	132	98	128	72·9	160	74·2
16	1,656	825	1,760	250	107	65	637	343	350	210	191	140	105	132	73·3	159	75·0
17	1,793	890	1,885	267	120	66	560	357	358	206	195	141	117	135	72·3	153	83·0
18	1,668	865	1,745	251	109	54	548	360	350	220	195	143	110	141	73·3	156	76·9
19	1,725	900	1,765	255	112	71	506	308	335	199	184	133	99	128	72·8	155	74·4
20	1,645	865	1,680	248	114	58	512	306	340	201	173	144	109	135	83·2	149	75·7
21	1,610	820	1,715	248	105	61	545	363	360	205	190	139	109	130	73·2	158	78·4
22	1,650	835	1,688	243	109	54	560	370	380	223	195	142	105	132	72·8	169	73·9
23	1,656	800	1,720	259	113	57	533	334	330	196	182	132	100	129	72·5	151	75·8
24	1,659	825	1,762	258	117	66	545	342	343	200	185	136	96	125	73·5	160	70·6
25	1,600	803	1,664	244	110	57	518	315	318	187	179	127	102	128	70·9	146	80·3
26	1,635	830	1,700	252	112	58	540	349	358	207	196	140	105	135	71·4	153	75·0.
27	1,577	798	1,627	242	105	56	529	330	335	211	189	135	102	125	71·4	169	75·6

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—MEWÁTI —*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
28	1,590	825	1,634	237	113	57	526	330	329	195	180	137	99	126	76·1	155	72·3
29	1,684	845	1,783	262	120	61	532	344	334	192	181	138	100	128	76·6	150	72·5
30	1,623	833	1,664	238	105	61	528	340	335	189	182	130	100	129	71·4	147	76·9
Average .	1,643	838	1,727	253	110	61	536	341	344	208	188	137	105	127	72·5	157	78·0

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—SAYYID.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverso Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,724	846	1,775	269	110	64	520	333	338	216	185	134	108	130	72·4	166	80·6
2	1,602	797	1,607	246	102	58	520	328	330	200	183	139	114	129	75·9	155	82·0
3	1,691	851	1,734	254	102	56	530	356	343	218	189	138	125	138	73·0	158	90·6
4	1,645	889	1,587	241	107	66	520	330	343	221	185	133	117	135	71·8	164	87·9
5	1,582	795	1,633	249	102	64	513	317	330	188	182	132	105	127	72·5	148	79·5
6	1,709	858	1,795	262	110	71	538	358	360	218	195	140	109	130	71·8	168	77·9
7	1,700	890	1,710	252	112	59	537	344	347	203	181	150	105	141	82·8	144	70·0
8	1,645	810	1,711	250	113	57	545	323	336	210	181	140	101	133	77·3	158	72·1
9	1,727	892	1,724	250	106	67	555	360	359	228	192	140	103	136	72·8	168	73·6

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—SAYYID —*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
10	1,683	895	1,683	240	110	60	539	358	350	204	182	147	99	130	80·8	157	67·4
11	1,803	905	1,852	266	130	65	530	338	339	191	190	133	104	138	70·0	138	78·1
12	1,612	825	1,576	234	104	55	520	330	330	193	182	132	93	122	72·5	158	70·5
13	1,700	870	1,762	256	107	57	515	337	335	205	178	135	104	135	75·8	152	77·4
14	1,620	820	1,724	241	100	57	534	325	350	210	183	138	107	127	75·4	165	77·5
15	1,690	840	1,765	266	117	60	553	365	360	216	187	132	102	132	70·6	163	77·3
16	1,670	850	1,772	262	110	63	540	330	335	185	178	138	107	137	77·5	135	77·5
17	1,615	815	1,699	260	110	63	538	350	330	204	179	132	97	130	73·7	157	73·5
18	1,675	820	1 610	251	104	62	540	350	350	192	186	145	110	131	78·0	147	75·9
19	1,650	855	1,700	253	113	60	545	330	335	214	187	134	105	127	71·7	169	78·4

20	1,600	807	1,685	230	107	59	534	350	340	196	182	137	102	130	75·3	151	74·5
21	1,590	825	1,625	231	114	62	537	335	330	195	180	137	107	135	76·1	144	78·1
22	1,575	825	1,680	236	102	62	524	330	331	200	181	130	95	126	71·8	159	73·1
23	1,590	780	1,652	231	110	57	540	354	360	212	189	137	103	127	72·5	167	75·2
24	1,550	820	1,580	240	112	57	527	334	329	206	184	130	105	127	70·7	162	80·8
25	1,600	815	1,675	230	115	58	560	360	370	209	186	130	108	132	69·9	158	83·1
26	1,650	830	1,725	252	115	56	530	360	360	185	185	135	97	125	73·0	148	71·9
27	1,730	865	1,780	278	120	62	540	360	360	189	185	135	110	130	73·0	145	81·5
28	1,720	885	1,760	256	115	58	560	350	360	212	185	135	110	125	73·0	170	81·5
29	1,632	820	1,720	225	105	56	530	350	330	182	179	130	100	127	72·6	143	76·9
30	1,650	815	1,745	257	115	61	560	370	360	193	190	135	110	133	71·1	145	81·5
31	1,740	865	1,795	260	115	52	550	330	330	196	184	130	110	130	70·7	151	84·6
32	1,652	850	1,750	238	115	63	550	375	350	197	190	138	110	125	73·2	158	79·7
33	1,640	835	1,790	252	120	56	570	380	375	219	197	134	108	134	68·0	164	80·6
Average .	1,653	838	1,709	252	111	60	537	345	345	203	184	136	106	131	73·2	157	77·6

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—NAT.

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1,574	782	1,668	246	102	64	549	338	330	198	198	143	116	131	72·2	151	81·1
2	1,777	886	1,823	262	107	66	541	345	353	208	194	144	120	137	74·2	152	83·3
3	1,633	858	1,678	249	102	61	536	343	348	193	188	146	114	123	77·7	156	78·1
4	1,663	876	1,719	257	110	51	523	330	348	211	184	138	123	139	75·0	153	89·1
5	1,600	841	1,633	241	102	58	523	330	348	218	185	135	118	132	73·0	165	87·4
6	1,645	858	1,739	262	117	61	541	338	356	221	193	139	117	139	72·0	159	84·2
7	1,541	772	1,546	224	102	53	536	345	335	206	190	137	119	133	72·1	155	86·9
8	1,739	876	1,793	272	122	64	552	358	361	216	190	151	124	150	79·5	144	82·6
9	1,617	843	1,681	249	112	61	564	358	353	200	202	146	124	140	72·3	144	84·9
10	1,612	770	1,698	245	106	62	553	356	355	219	192	142	110	132	73·9	166	77·5

11	1.667	830	1.745	250	110	65	548	362	365	217	190	137	108	138	72·1	157	78·8
12	1.654	810	1.712	253	108	64	514	320	336	203	181	136	108	132	75·1	154	79·4
13	1.603	830	1.628	245	104	65	520	320	320	196	177	133	114	132	75·1	148	85·7
14	1.545	818	1.480	225	96	51	540	330	340	197	188	140	114	138	74·5	143	81·4
15	1.780	896	1.795	278	118	58	528	334	342	218	190	134	109	129	70·5	169	81·3
16	1.658	840	1.700	279	111	61	548	340	364	215	194	145	115	141	74·7	152	79·3
17	1.675	855	1.750	268	115	65	555	362	380	226	195	143	117	134	73·3	169	81·8
18	1.706	874	1.743	265	120	57	539	345	354	202	191	138	100	130	72·3	155	72·5
19	1.661	826	1.685	252	112	57	532	334	335	201	185	130	102	123	75·7	163	78·5
20	1.690	865	1.757	270	112	60	517	330	334	201	180	140	97	139	77·8	145	69·3
21	1.606	785	1.665	239	107	61	518	340	339	191	179	133	91	127	74·3	150	68·4
22	1.590	814	1.653	247	104	51	510	319	330	202	178	133	102	130	74·7	155	76·7
23	1.606	815	1.695	244	100	57	539	350	349	100	182	143	107	136	78·6	147	74·8
24	1.572	800	1.620	246	99	60	530	332	335	185	184	140	103	131	76·1	141	73·5
25	1.640	845	1.650	257	105	59	518	331	340	195	181	137	102	132	75·7	148	74·5
26	1.620	835	1.710	232	110	60	534	320	334	196	181	138	105	137	76·2	143	76·1
27	1.520	770	1.585	230	98	56	514	335	336	196	185	135	107	128	73·0	153	79·3

NAME OF CASTE OR TRIBE—NAT—*concluded.*

Number.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Cephalic Index.	General Index.	Frontal Index.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
28	1,684	845	1,765	242	121	59	544	360	330	204	190	136	102	133	71·6	153	75·0
29	1,580	800	1,650	256	112	59	521	323	325	183	180	130	102	126	72·2	145	78·5
30	1,620	842	1,684	258	113	58	562	351	345	219	196	140	110	136	71·4	161	78·6
31	1,562	830	1,584	220	111	61	536	348	338	186	188	134	100	128	71·3	145	74·6
32	1,642	840	1,726	240	113	55	528	334	338	199	185	136	100	130	73·5	153	73·5
33	1,540	760	1,636	225	107	53	524	342	324	193	178	130	103	129	73·5	150	79·2
34	1,594	819	1,674	233	112	54	500	323	320	185	176	130	100	125	73·8	148	76·9
35	1,552	811	1,623	228	110	57	532	328	329	208	180	142	100	130	78·9	160	70·4
Average .	1,627	830	1,681	260	109	59	534	342	345	202	187	138	109	133	73·9	153	78·7

15. The result then of anthropometry as applied to caste appears to be that there is no good ground for disputing the fact that the present races of Northern India are practically one people. The figures prepared by Mr. Risley have been subjected to a close analysis by Mr. C. J. O'Donnell in the Bengal Census Report for 1891; and no account of the matter would be complete without reproducing his remarks.

Anthropometry.

16. "It is difficult to trace, in the introduction to *The Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, how far Mr. Risley recognises the influence of intermarriage between Aryans and Aboriginals, but he unquestionably denies the functional origin of caste, and seems to define it as 'an institution, evolved by the Aryans in the attempt to preserve the purity of their own stock, and afterwards expanded and adapted, by the influence of a series of fictions, to fit an endless variety of social, religious and industrial conditions.' With much originality he has sought to find a new guide to the ethnic composition of India in the science of anthropometry.

"'Nowhere else,' he writes, 'in the world do we find the population of a large continent broken up into an infinite number of mutually exclusive aggregates, the members of which are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside of the group to which they themselves belong. Whatever may have been the origin and the earlier developments of the caste system, this absolute prohibition of mixed marriages stands forth at the present day as its essential and most prominent charac-

teristic. In a society thus organised—a society sacrificing everything to pride of blood and the idea of social purity—it seemed that differences of physical type, however produced in past time, might be expected to manifest a high degree of persistence, and that the science which seeks to trace and express such differences would find a peculiarly favourable field for its operations. In Europe anthropometry has to confess itself hindered, if not baffled, by the constant intermixture of races, which tends to obscure and confuse the data arrived at by measurement. In a country where such intermixture is to a large extent eliminated, there were grounds for believing that divergent types would reveal themselves more clearly and that their characteristics would furnish some clue to their original race affinities.'

Two main types of Indian head.

17. "With the aid of the Governments of the North-Western Provinces and of the Panjab anthropometric data for 'nearly 6,000 persons, representing 89 of the leading castes and tribes in Northern India, from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Afghânistân,' were obtained, but unfortunately Mr. Risley finds that 'it would be vain to attempt within the compass of this essay to analyse and compare the large mass of figures which has been collected, or to develop at length the inferences which they may be taught to suggest.' He has, however, made a few interesting deductions. Three well-known types of feature and physique have long been recognised in the Indian peninsula, the Aryan or Caucasian chiefly in Upper India, the Mongoloid, which is generally believed to be confined to

the north-east corner of Bengal, and a Negrito, or, as Mr. Risley calls it, a Dravidian type, in Central and Southern India. Excluding the second, which he represents to be so local as to make its elimination a matter of little importance in discussing the ethnology of Indian peoples, Mr. Risley defines the other two as follows:—

"'The Aryan type, as we find it in India at the present day, is marked by a relatively long (dolichocephalic) head; a straight, finely cut (leptorhine) nose; a long, symmetrically narrow face; a well developed forehead, regular features, and a high facial angle. In the Dravidian type the form of the head usually inclines to be dolichocephalic, but all other characters present a marked contrast to the Aryan. The nose is thick and broad, and the formula expressing its proportionate dimensions is higher than in any known race except the Negro. The facial angle is comparatively low; the lips are thick; the face wide and fleshy; the features coarse and irregular.'

"The following passage gives the most important of Mr. Risley's deductions:—

'Between these extreme types, which may fairly be regarded as representing two distinct races, we find a large number of intermediate groups, each of which forms, for matrimonial purposes, a sharply defined circle, beyond which none of its members can pass. By applying to the entire series the nasal index or formula of the proportions of the nose, which Professors Flower and Topinard agree in regarding as the best test of race distinctions, some remarkable results are arrived at.

The average nasal proportions of the Mâlê Pahâria tribe are expressed by the figure 94·5, while the pastoral Gûjars of the Panjab have an index of 66·9, the Sikhs of 68·8, and the Bengal Brâhmans and Kâyasths of 70·4. In other words, the typical Dravidian, as represented by the Mâlê Pahâria, has a nose as broad in proportion to its length as the Negro, while this feature in the Aryan group can fairly bear comparison with the noses of 68 Parisians, measured by Topinard, which gave an average of 69·4. Even more striking is the curiously close correspondence between the gradations of racial type indicated by the nasal index and certain of the social data ascertained by independent enquiry. If we take a series of castes in Bengal, Bihâr, or the North-Western Provinces, and arrange them in the order of the average nasal index, so that the caste with the finest nose shall be at the top, and that with the coarsest at the bottom of the list, it will be found that this order substantially corresponds with the accepted order of social precedence. The casteless tribes, Kols, Korwas, Mundas, and the like, who have not yet entered the Brâhmanical system, occupy the lowest place in both series. Then come the vermin-eating Musahars and the leather-dressing Chamârs. The fisher castes of Bauri, Bind and Kewat are a trifle higher in the scale; the pastoral Goâla, the cultivating Kurmi, and a group of cognate castes from whose hands a Brâhman may take water, follow in due order, and from them we pass to the trading Khatris, the landholding Bâbhans, and the upper crust of Hindu society. Thus, it is

scarcely a paradox to lay down as a law of the caste organisation in Eastern India that a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose.'

The Nasal Index. The best test of race distinction.

18. "The figures on which these statements are based are found in the third and fourth volumes of Mr. Risley's instructive work; and if in examining them it appears that they do not bear out his conclusions, I hope not to fail in recognising the great service he has rendered to ethnographic study by introducing really scientific methods of enquiry.

"The following table is an exact reproduction of the averages of the nasal index at the beginning of Volume III:—

Bengal Proper.		Bihár.	
Name of Caste.	Average Index.	Name of Caste.	Average Index.
Káyasth	70·3	Bráhman	73·2
Bráhman	70·4	Bábhan	74·0
Chandál	73·9	Goála	76·7
Sadgop	73·0	Kurmi	78·5
Goála	74·2	Kahár	79·7
Muchi	74·9	Bind	82·2
Pod	76·1	Maghaiya Dom	82·2
Kaibartta	76·2	Dusádh	82·4
Rájbansi	76·6	Chamár	82·8
Muhammadan	77·5	Musahar	88·5
Bágdi	80·5		
Bauri	84·1		
Mál	84·7		
Mál Pahári	92·9		
Málé or Asal Pahária	94·5		

North-Western Provinces and Oudh.		Panjab.	
Name of Caste.	Average Index.	Name of Caste.	Average Index.
Bhuînhâr	73·0	Gûjar	66·9
Brâhman	74·6	Pathân	68·4
Kâyasth	74·8	Sikh	68·8
Kshatriya . . .	77·7	Awan	68·8
Kanjar	78·0	Biloch	69·4
Khatri	78·1	Mâchhi	70·0
Kurmi	79·2	Arora	71·2
Thâru	79·5	Khatri	73·1
Banya	79·6	Chuhra	75·2
Barhai	80·8		
Goâla	80·9		
Kewat	81·4		
Bhar	81·9		
Kol	82·2		
Lohâr	82·4		
Guriya	82·6		
Kâchhi	82·9		
Dom	83·0		
Lodha	83·4		
Koiri	83·6		
Pâsi	85·4		
Chamâr	86·8		
Musahar	86·1		

"In this table it is a noticeable fact that the Kâyasth of Bengal Proper, an undoubtedly Sûdra caste, according to Brâhmanic theory, has finer features than the Brâhman, whilst the Chandâl outcaste of the Gangetic delta lies midway between the highborn and allied castes of Brâhmans and Bâbhans in Bihâr. Mr. Nesfield is so satisfied that the people of Upper India are a race mixed beyond recognition, that he does not hesitate to declare that a 'stranger walking through the class-rooms of the Sanskrit College at Benares would never dream of supposing that the students seated before him were distinct in race and blood from the scavengers who swept the roads.' It is a singular confirmation of this assertion that Mr. Risley's table shows no appreciable difference in feature between the Brâhman of the North-Western Provinces and the Chuhra or scavenger of the Panjâb, while the latter has very much the advantage in nasal refinement over the Kshatriya or Râjput of the North-Western Provinces.

The Negritic profile common in the highest castes.

10. "The foregoing figures, however, are only averages. When one turns to the individual measurements, the entire absence of any common gradation in the nasal indices of the measured castes is still more apparent. The following figures are taken from the general tables of measurements, the five upper entries showing the smallest indices and the five lower the largest indices recorded. The numbers in the first

column under each caste are the serial numbers of the individuals in the original table:—

Bengal Proper.

Brâhman.		Kâyasth.		Goâla.		Chamâr.		Bâgdi.	
Serial No.	Index.	Serial No.	Index.	Serial No.	Index.	Serial No.	Index.	Serial No.	Index.
41	56·1	23	60·0	37	62·0	14	62·9	33	67·3
30	58·0	15	61·5	10	62·7	10	64·1	35	67·3
21	58·3	29	62·2	17	65·3	12	66·6	41	68·0
10	60·3	63	62·7	13	65·9	24	66·6	74	69·2
5	60·7	2	62·9	33	66·0	3	67·9	27	70·0
73	80·4	82	81·2	7	83·3	23	81·3	30	90·2
84	81·2	97	82·0	35	84·4	27	82·2	10	92·8
85	81·2	70	82·9	3	84·7	15	86·0	55	95·4
94	88·6	32	83·3	19	84·7	11	87·2	6	97·4
75	100·0	9	88·8	15	86·6	6	88·0	2	100·0

"I have excluded the casteless tribes, but have included the Bâgdi, a so-called caste, though why so termed, except that it is found in the plains of India and has been largely Hinduised, is not apparent. This confusion between the two terms must continue so long as the functional character of caste is not admitted. The Bâgdis, like the Bauris, are a tribe as much as the Kol or the Santâl, and being Drâvirs by race, stand apart in the foregoing statement with a generally well-marked Dravidian type of face. The other four groups are functional, their occupations being that of priest, writer, cowherd and leather dresser; and though there is a

greater coarseness of feature in the two latter, who are out-of-door labourers, than in the former, who are gentle-born, all four are manifestly of the same race or rather of the same amalgam of races. The first five Brâhmans and Kâyasths have distinctly Caucasian features, but the average index of the second five Brâhmans (86·3) shows a much greater approach to the flatnosedness of the Negro than the similar average of Goâlas (84·7), or Chamârs (84·9). In fact the two last Brâhmans have a more aboriginal type of face than any of the despised leather-dressers. It is probable and natural that there should be a greater admixture of non-Aryan blood in persons pursuing the humbler occupations, and this is the gist of Mr. Nesfield's argument, which seems triumphantly corroborated by the foregoing figures. The race theory of castes, on the other hand, is found to have practically no statistical support. Far from its being a law of caste organisation in Eastern India, that a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose, the utmost that can be predicated is that the average nasal index of a large number of the members of any caste indicates, in a very uncertain manner, the amount of aboriginal blood amongst its members, and thereby indirectly the greater or less respectability of the occupation followed.

The Cephalic Index. The Mesaticephalic head.

20. "It appears from the nasal statistics that not only an occasional Brâhman, but a very appreciable section of the caste, may be as flat-faced as a Chamâr. It is also made apparent by Mr. Risley's measurements of

the cephalic index and of the facial angle that an equally large number are as round-headed as a Mongoloid Lepcha of the Darjíling Hills, and as prognathous as any Negritic tribe in Chutia Nâgpur. The following table is a reproduction of Mr. Risley's statement of average cephalic indices :—

Bengal Proper.		Darjiling Hills.		Bihâr.		Chutia Nâgpur.		N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.	
Name of Caste.	Average Index.	Name of Caste.	Average Index.	Name of Caste.	Average Index.	Name of Caste.	Average Index.	Name of Caste.	Average Index.
Mâlé or Asal	74·6	Murmu . . .	78·5	Bind . .	74·0	Chero . . .	72·4	Banya . .	71·3
Paharia		Mangar . . .	79·0	Brâhman . .	74·9	Chik . . .	73·8	Barhi . .	71·8
Bauri . . .	75·0	Lepcha . . .	79·9	Musahar . .	75·2	Asur . . .	74·0	Khatri . .	71·9
Râjbansi . . .	75·2	Tibetans of Tibet .	80·5	Kurmi . .	75·7	Korwa . . .	74·4	Kâchhi . .	72·1
Mâl . .	75·8	Tibetans of Bhutan .	80·2	Chamâr . .	76·0	Kharia . .	74·5	Kori . .	72·1
Paharia . .		Khambu . .	81·0	Kahâr . .	76·1	Munda . . .	74·5	Gauria . .	72·4
Bâgdi . . .	76·3	Newar . .	81·5	Maghaiya Dom .	76·2	Bhumij . . .	75·0	Kol . .	72·4
Mâl . . .	77·2	Gurung . .	81·6	Goâla . .	76·2	Binjhia . . .	75·1	Lodha . .	72·6
Goâla . . .	77·3	Tibetans of Sikkim .	82·7	Pâbhan . .	76·7	Lohâr . . .	75·3	Kâyasth . .	72·6

Bengal Proper.		Darjiling Hills.		Bihâr.		Chutia Nâgpur.		N-W. Provinces and Oudh.	
Name of Caste.	Average Index.	Name of Caste.	Average Index.	Name of Caste.	Average Index.	Name of Caste.	Average Index.	Name of Caste.	Average Index.
Kaibartta . .	77·3	Limbu . . .	84·3	Dusâdh . .	76·7	Orâon . . .	75 4	Pâsi . .	72·6
Mûchi . . .	77·6					Kharwâr . .	75·5	Kewat . .	72 7
Sadgop . . .	77·6					Kurmi . . .	75·7	Lohâr . .	72·8
Pod . . .	77·7					Bhuiya . . .	76 0	Chamâr . .	72·8
Muhammadan . .	78·0					Dom . . .	76·0	Kshatriya .	73·0
Chandâl . .	78·1					Santâl . . .	76·1	Goâla . .	73·1
Kâyasth . .	78·2					Tanti . . .	76·2	Brâhman .	73·0
Brâhman . .	78·7					Birhor . . .	76·6	Bhuinhâr .	73 3
								Kurmi . .	73·3
								Bhar . .	73·5
								Thâru . .	73·9
								Musahar . .	74·1
								Kanjar . .	74·7
								Dom . .	74·8

"In the above table the great cephalic similarity between the Kâyasth and the Chandâl in Bengal, between the Brâhman and the Bind in Bihâr, and between the Bâbhan and the Bhar in the North-Western Provinces, seems to prove beyond question how very similar must have been the racial origin of all. In fact the medium or mesaticephalic head is the most common in the plains of Bengal and Bihâr, being the result of interbreeding between the round-headed Mongol and the long-headed Drâvir, the Aryan having little to do with the physiognomy of their offspring, except in Upper India.

"Mr. Risley's comment on these statistics is as follows:—

'All along the Eastern and Northern frontier of Bengal we meet with a fringe of compact tribes of the short-headed or brachycephalic type, who are beyond question Mongolian. Starting from this area, and travelling up the plains of India north-westward towards the frontier of the Panjab, we observe a gradual but steady increase of the dolichocephalic type of head, which Herr Penka claims as one of the chief characteristics of the original Aryans. Bengal itself is mostly mesaticephalic, and dolichocephaly only appears in some of the Dravidian tribes. In Bihâr dolichocephalic averages are more numerous; in Oudh and the North-Western Provinces this type is universal, and it reaches its maximum in the Panjab. Assuming that Herr Penka has correctly determined the original Aryan type to be dolichocephalic, and that the theory of caste propounded above is the

true one, these are just the results which might be looked for. According to the French anthropologists, the shape of the head is the most persistent of race characters, and the one which offers the greatest resistance to the levelling influence of crossing.

"'A possible objection may be disposed of here. It may be argued that if the Dravidians are dolichocephalic, the prevalence of this character in North Western India may be accounted for by the assumption of an intermixture of Dravidian blood. But if this were so the proportion and degree of dolichocephaly would increase as we approach the Dravidian area, instead of diminishing, as is actually the case. Moreover, it is impossible to suppose that the races of the North-West, if originally brachycephalic, could have acquired their dolichocephalic form of head from the Dravidians, without at the same time acquiring the characteristic Dravidian nose and the distinctive Dravidian colour.'

21. "The last paragraph may, I presume, be taken as denying the admixture of Dravidian blood. I have shown that a Dravidian nose is far from uncommon in the highest castes. As regards colour there is a mass of evidence hostile to Mr. Risley's latter argument. Professor Max Müller, in his *Chips from a German Workshop*, states:—'There are at present Brâhmans, particularly in the South of India, as black as Pariahs.' Mr. Nesfield, the most careful student of castes in Upper India, states:—'The great majority of Brâhmans are not of lighter complexion or of finer and better bred features than any

The Negritic colour amongst Brâhmans.

other caste.' Even Kanaujiya Brâhmans, who are the priests of the upper classes in Bengal, are admitted by Mr. Risley to be 'wanting in the peculiar fineness of feature and intellectual cast of countenance which distinguishes the higher grades of Brâhmans in other parts of India.' On the other hand, Mr. Sherring in his "Hindu Castes and Tribes" comments on the high caste appearance of the Chamâr caste. Similar testimony to the good looks of the Chamârs in certain parts of India comes to us from the Central Provinces, where they are said to be lighter in colour than the members of other cultivating castes, while some of the men and many of the women are remarkably handsome. In Eastern Bengal, again, Dr. Wise describes the caste as 'less swarthy than the average Chandâl, and infinitely fairer, with a more delicate and intellectual caste of features, than many Srotriya Brâhmans.' The foregoing quotation comes from Mr. Risley's excellent article on the Chamâr caste.

"One of the first great crimes which, as a Magistrate, I had to investigate in Bengal, was a murder committed by a Jessor Chamâr, who had spent years in the villages to the south of Calcutta in the character of a Brâhman. He at last seduced a young widow from her home, and murdered her for the sake of her jewellery a few miles before reaching his house in Jessor. He was tall and handsome with a clear olive complexion, and I afterwards noticed that some other members of his caste were equally fair. Young men of the Dusâdh caste are often rather good looking, and many of them have a yellowish-brown complexion.

22. "The facial angle of Cuvier, though somewhat discredited by later anthropologists on account of its failure to define minor distinctions of feature, is still a race test that has many advantages. It measures, as is known, the angle made by the plane of the face with the plane of the base of the skull. It is acute in the Negritic peoples, and about a right angle in the Caucasian. Mr. Risley, adopting the notation of Retz, gives the following figures :—

The facial angle. A single type, a mixed one, universal.

Bengal Proper.		Bihâr.		North-Western Provinces.		Panjab.	
Name of caste.	Average Index.	Name of caste.	Average Index.	Name of caste.	Average Index.	Name of caste.	Average Index.
Brâhman . . .	67·1	Bind	69·2	Kshatriya . . .	69·6	Gûjar . . .	70·7
Sadgop	67·0	Brâhman . . .	63·7	Goâla	69·4	Sikh	70·4
Bauri	66·4	Dusâdh	68·7	Pâsi	69·4	Bilooh . . .	70·3
Mâlê or Asal Pahâria .	66·1	Bâbhan	68·6	Brâhman	68·7	Arora . . .	69·3
Mâl Pahâria . . .	66·1	Goâla	68·3	Bhar	67·9	Awan . . .	69·0
Muchi	66·1	Kurmi . . .	67·8	Kurmi	67·9	Khatri . . .	68·8
Mâl	65·8	Musahar . . .	67·2	Kâchhi	67·7	Chûhra . . .	68·8
Chandâl	65·8	Chamâr	67·1	Musahar	67·7	Machi . . .	68·7
Kaibartta . . .	65·4	Kahâr	66·6	Lodha	67·6	Pathân . . .	67·1
Râjbansi	65·1	Maghaiya Dom . .	65·7	Parhi	67·1		
Goâla	65·1			Koeri	66·9		
Pod	65·0			Chamâr	66·9		

Bengal Proper.		Bihâr.		North-Western Provinces.		Panjab.	
Name of caste.	Average Index.	Name of caste.	Average Index.	Name of caste.	Avrage Index.	Name of caste.	Average Index.
Bâgdi	64·9			Kayâsth	66·7		
Kayasth	64·2			Bâbhan	66·6		
Muhammadan . . .	63·7			Kewat	66·6		
				Guria	66·4		
				Banya	66·3		
				Kanjar	66·3		
				Lohâr	66·2		
				Kol	66·1		
				Thâru	65·9		
				Dom	65·7		
				Khatri	65·5		

"It thus appears that in Bengal the Brâhman is at one end of the scale and the cultivated Kâyasth at the other, whilst at the top of the Bihâr list the fisherman, priest, farm labourer, landlord and cowherd are in close proximity. In the North-Western Provinces the Kshatriya, the Râjput soldier and the Khatri, the Râjput trader, stand at opposite extremes; rat-catchers, carpenters, dancing women, cultivators, toddy-drawers and priests coming in between. No evidence could be more convincing, if anthropometry has any meaning. The Indian races and tribes in the valley of the Ganges from the Afghan frontier to the Bay of Bengal are so absolutely intermingled in blood, that it is impossible to discriminate between the skull characteristics of the castes or functional guilds which have grown up under later Brâhmanical usage."

CHAPTER III.

The Occupational form of Caste.

Caste based on occupation.

We have thus mainly on the evidence from anthropometry endeavoured to establish the fact that, as we find the existing population, the theory of the ethnological basis of caste must be to a great extent abandoned. We have then to search for some other solution of the question of the origin of our present castes. This can only be found in community of function or occupation. The most able advocate of this theory is Mr. J. C. Nesfield.[1] To use his words:—"The bond of sympathy or interest which first drew together the families or tribal fragments, of which a caste is composed, was not, as some writers have alleged, community of creed or community of kinship, but community of function. Function, and function only, as I think, was the foundation upon which the whole caste system of India was built up."

2. And he goes on to say[2]: "Such a theory as the above is not compatible with the modern doctrine which divides the population of India into Aryan and Aboriginal. It presupposes an unbroken continuity in the national life from one stage of culture to another, analogous to what has taken place in every country in

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[1] *Brief view of the caste system of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.* The same theory was, however, advocated before Mr. Nesfield by Mr. Ibbetson in the *Panjab Census Report* of 1881, page 173, sq

[2] *Loc. cit*, 3.

the world whose inhabitants have emerged from the savage state. It assumes, therefore, as its necessary basis, *the unity of the Indian race.* While it does not deny that a race of 'white-complexioned foreigners,' who called themselves by the name of Arya, invaded the Indus Valley *viâ* Kâbul and Kashmîr some four thousand years ago, and imposed their language and religion on the indigenous races by whom they found themselves surrounded, it nevertheless maintains that the blood imported by this foreign race became gradually absorbed into the indigenous, the less yielding to the greater, so that almost all traces of the conquering races eventually disappeared, just as the Lombard became absorbed into the Italian, the Frank into the Gaul, the Roman (of Roumania) into the Slav, the Greek (of Alexandria) into the Egyptian, the Norman into the Frenchman, the Moor (of Spain) into the Spaniard, and as the Norwegians, Germans, etc., are at the day becoming absorbed into Englishmen in North America, or as the Portuguese (of India) have already become absorbed into Indians. I hold that for the last three thousand years at least no real difference of blood between Aryan and Aboriginal (except perhaps in a few isolated tracts, such as Râjputâna, where special causes may have occurred to prevent the complete amalgamation of race) has existed; and the physiological resemblance observable between the various classes of the population, from the highest to the lowest, is an irrefragable proof that no clearly-defined racial distinction has survived, a kind of evidence which ought to carry much greater weight than

that of language, on which so many fanciful theories of Ethnology have been lately founded. Language is no test of race; and the question of caste is not one of race at all, but of culture. Nothing has tended to complicate the subject of caste so much as this intrusion of a philological theory, which within its own province is one of the most interesting discoveries of modern times, into a field of enquiry with which it has no connection. The 'Aryan brother' is, indeed, a much more mythical being than Râma or Krishna, or any other of the popular heroes of Indian tradition whom writers of the Aryan school have vainly striven to attenuate into Solar myths. The amalgamation of the two races (the Aryan and the Indian) had been completed in the Panjab (as we may gather from the "Institutes" of Manu) before the Hindu, who is the result of this amalgamation, began to extend his influence into the Ganges Valley, where by slow and sure degrees he disseminated among the indigenous races those social and religious maxims which have been spreading wider and wider ever since throughout the continent of India, absorbing one after another, and to some extent civilising, every indigenous race with whom they are brought into contact, raising the choice spirits of the various tribes into the rank of Brâhman, Chhatri, and leaving the rest to rise or fall into the social scale according to their capacities and opportunities."

3. It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Nesfield through his detailed analysis of the stages through which this differentiation of function was developed. The example,

as he attempts to show,[1] was given by the Brâhman, who developed from the primitive house priest into the hierophant with the increasing intricacy of his ritual. His example was followed by the Kshatriya, the trader, the agriculturist, and the artisan. Many facts will be noted in succeeding pages illustrative of this process of development.

The fair and the dark races.

4. The remarks on the evidence from anthropometry will have shown that there is proof of the stratification of the existing races; and we must not overlook the possibility of the basis of caste being found to some extent in the antipathy between the fairer and the darker race which comes out so strongly through the whole range of early Indian myth. This is not directly opposed to the occupational theory of the origin of the caste system, because even its most ardent advocates admit that it began with an attempt on the part of the priestly class to exclude outsiders and monopolise the right to perform worship and sacrifice.

5. Mr. Nesfield has, however, gone further and attempted to classify all the existing castes on the basis of occupation. He would divide the existing population, excluding the religious orders and foreign races resident in the Province, into eleven groups. He begins with what he calls the "casteless tribes," who include the so-called Dravidian tribes of the Central Indian plateau, and a collection of vagrants and gypsy-like people,

[1] *Loc. cit, 115.*

such as Nats, Kanjars, with menials like the Dom and the Musahar. These comprise something like half a million of people. Then we have the "castes allied to the hunting state," such as Bauriyas, Baheliyas, Pâsis, and the like, to the number of nearly two millions. Then we have about the same number of castes "allied to the fishing state"—Meos, Binds, Mallâhs, Dhîmars, and so on. Next come some five and-a-half millions of people "allied to the pastoral state," such as Ahîrs, Jâts, and Gadariyas. These are followed by some six millions of agriculturists—the Lodha, the Kurmi, the Taga, Bhuînhâr, and so on. Next come some three millions of Râjputs, who are the "landlord and warrior caste." In the same way he deals with artisans. We find, to begin with, those artisans who preceded the age of metallurgy, who practise trades like the workers in cane and reed, thread and leather, distillery, pottery, and extraction of salt, and ranging from the Bânsphor and Dharkâr, to the Mochi, Teli, Kalwâr, Kumhâr and Luniya. These represent nearly nine millions of people. Beyond these again are the artisans "coeval with metallurgy," workers in stone, metals and wood, and ending with dyers and confectioners, aggregating about a million and-a half. To these follow the groups of traders, including more than a million and-a-half, and these are succeeded by nearly two and-a-half millions of the "serving castes," ranging from the Bhangi and Dhobi to the Bhât and the Kâyasth. Last of all come nearly five millions of Brâhmans, who comprise the "priestly castes."

6. As regards this classification, which has an imposing air of simplicity and completeness, it is necessary to speak a word of caution. If it is meant that this progressive development of function represents the actual, normal course by which, in the ordinary progress of culture, the savage becomes civilised, it may be said that we are too ignorant of the principles of the development of civilisation to be sure that it was conducted on this or similar lines. Further, it may be well to guard against the supposition that this classification of castes in any way represents existing facts. It must not be forgotten that there are few of the present occupational groups which invariably adhere to the original trade or handicraft which may have caused their association in past times. There may be some like the Atishbâz or fire-work makers, the N'alband or farriers, and so on, which do really adhere to the business from which they take their name. But this is certainly not the case with the associations of longer standing. The Chamâr is no more always a worker in leather than the Ahîr, a grazier; the Banjâra, a carrier; or the Luniya, a salt-maker. They all at some time or other cultivate or do field labour, or tend cattle.

7. Hence the extreme difficulty of framing a classification of existing castes on the basis of traditional occupation, and this is very clearly brought out in the classification at the last Census, of which an abstract is given in the Appendix to this chapter: when we compare this with their actual occupations as individually recorded this fact comes out clearly. The Ahiwâsi,

Baidguâr, Belwâr, Nâik, and Rahbâri, an aggregate of 86,674 persons, are classed as "carriers"—a trade which is carried on by no less than 185,431 individuals. There are about 6½ millions, which include the agricultural tribes; while Mr. Baillie estimates the actual number of persons connected with the land as no less than 34¾ millions. There are 4¾ millions of Brâhmans recorded as priests, but only 412,449 declared this as their occupation. There are about 5½ millions of so-called pastoral trades, while only 336,995 people recorded cattle breeding and tending as their occupation. The instances of this might be largely added to if necessary. What is quite clear is that the existing groups which may have been, and very possibly were, occupational in origin do not now even approximately confine themselves to their primitive occupation.

The effect of the Muhammadan invasion on caste.

8. Again, it will be noted how many of these occupational groups have adopted Muhammadan names. There is no name for the aggregate of the boating castes, but Mallâh, which is Arabic. There were tailors, of course, from the beginning of things, but they are now known as Darzi, not Sûji: the turner must be an old handicraftsman, but his name, Kharâdi, is Arabic. So with the Dafâli, drummer; the Mirâsi, singer; the Tawâif, prostitute; the Rangsâz, painter; the Qalâ'igar, tinner; the Rangrez, cotton printer, and so on. In fact, in the silence of history, we seem to have only a faint idea of the tremendous bouleversement in Indian society, caused by the invasions of brutal invaders like Mahmûd

of Ghazni and Shahâb-ud-din Ghori. They came like a mighty flood over the land, and left the Hindu political and social organism a mass of ruins. To begin with, they broke the power of the Râjput completely and drove him from the fertile domains of the Ganges-Jumna valley to the deserts of Râjputâna, or the forests of Oudh. It is to this stupendous event that much of the form of modern Hindu society is due. The downfall of the Kshatriya implied the rehabilitation of the Brâhman, and the needs of a new race of conquerors, and of a court at no time lacking in splendour, and with the house of Timûr rising to unexampled magnificence, gave encouragement to the growth of new industries and the accompanying reorganization of the caste system under a new environment.

Appendix.

Classification of castes by traditional occupation.

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Military and dominant .	Bhuinhâr	221,031
	Jât	698,826
	Râjput	3,633,843
	Taga	128,563
	TOTAL .	4,682,263
Cultivators . . .	Barai	153,421
	Bhar	417,745
	Bhurtiya	423
	Dângi	2,363
	Gâra	51,088
	Golapûrab	9,723
	Jhojha	26,847
	Kâchhi	703,368
	Kamboh	8,578
	Khâgi	43,435
	Kirâr	18,363
	Kisân	364,455
	Koeri	540,245
	Kurmi	2,005,803
	Kunjra	85,529
	Lodha	1,029,225
	Mâli	245,943

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Cultivators—*continued.*	Meo	10,642
	Mewâti	60,332
	Murâo	664,916
	Râin	15,243
	Râwa	25,451
	Ror	4,459
	Sâini	99,245
	TOTAL	6,587,021
Cattle-breeders and Graziers	Ahar	244,167
	Ahîr	3,017,100
	Dogar	340
	Gaddi	51,970
	Ghosi	27,760
	Gûjar	344,631
	TOTAL	4,585,968
Sheep-breeders	Gadariya	929,463
Forest and Hill Tribes	Baiswar	1,898
	Bhîl	190
	Bhoksa	1,208
	Bhuiya	849
	Chero	4,883
	Goli	21
	Gond	8,861
	Kharwâr	176

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Forest and Hill Tribes—*continued.*	Kol	68,556
	Korwa	33
	Mahra	699
	Majhwâr	16,268
	Mânjhi	6,122
	Musahar	40,662
	Soiri	17,822
	Sonthâl	1
	Thâru	25,492
	TOTAL .	193,731
Priests	Brâhman	4,725,061
	Mahâbrâhman . . .	19,829
	TOTAL .	4,744,890
Devotees	Faqîr	623,506
Genealogists . . .	Bhât	161,144
Writers	Kâyasths	514,327
Astrologers . . .	Joshi	35,069
Musicians and Ballad Singers	Dafâli	42,075
	Dhârhi	1,322
	Dom Mirâsi . . .	28,363
	Panwariya	512
	TOTAL .	72,272

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Dancers and Singers	Barwa	1,631
	Beriya	15,313
	Bhagat	485
	Gandharb	664
	Hurkiya	801
	Kathak	2,034
	Paturiya	4,714
	Râdha	4,354
	Tawâif	22,969
	TOTAL	52,965
Actors and Mimes	Bhând	4,014
Traders	Banya	1,369,052
	Bhâtiya	265
	Bohra	1,131
	Dhûsar Bhârgava	12,279
	Khatri	46,250
	TOTAL	1,428,997
Pedlars	Bisâti	959
	Ramaiya	4,095
	TOTAL	5,054

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Carriers	Ahiwâsi	9,502
	Baidgnâr	420
	Banjâra	67,097
	Belwâr	6,194
	Nâik	2,563
	Rahbâri	898
	TOTAL	86,674
Goldsmiths	Sunâr	255,629
Barbers	Nâi	862,273
Blacksmiths	Lohâr	592,220
	Na'lband	429
	TOTAL	592,649
Carpenters and Turners	Barhai	559,617
	Kharâdi	1,204
	TOTAL	560,821
Painters	Rangrâz	1,486
Masons	Râj	6,633
Brass and Copper Smiths	Jastgar	13
	Qala'igar	89
	Kasera	7,273

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Brass and Copper Smiths—*continued.*	Rangdhar	185
	Thathera	21,361
	TOTAL .	28,921
Tailor	Darzi	228,926
Grain Parchers and Confectioners . .	Bharbhûnja . . .	310,216
	Halwâi	96,246
	TOTAL .	406,462
Perfumers, Druggists, Sellers of Betel Leaf.	Gandhi	858
	Tamboli	73,943
	TOTAL .	74,801
Weavers	Julâha	880,231
	Kori	919,750
	Panka	6,502
	TOTAL .	1,806,483
Cloth Printers and Dyers .	Chhîpi	35,177
	Rangrez	35,143
	TOTAL .	70,320

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Washermen . . .	Dhobi	658,745
Cotton Cleaners . . .	Dhuna	401,987
	Kadhera	51,756
	TOTAL .	453,743
Oil Pressers . . .	Teli	934,060
Potters	Kumhâr	713,000
Glass and Lac Workers .	Chûrihâr	28,953
	Lakhera	3,763
	Manihâr	65,630
	Potgar	12
	TOTAL .	100,023
Bead Stringers . . .	Patwa	30,977
Firework Makers . .	Âtishbâz	534
Salt and Earth Workers .	Biyâr	18,821
	Beldâr	37,299
	Dhângar	519
	Ghasiyâra	198
	Luniya	412,822
	TOTAL .	469,659
Collectors of Goldsmiths' Refuse.	Niâriya	258 4,651

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Iron Smelters . . .	Agariya	938
	Saun	257
	TOTAL .	1,195
Fishermen, Boatmen, Palanquin Bearers, Cooks, etc.	Bargah	918
	Bargi	1,076
	Bâri	69,708
	Bhatiyâra	30,658
	Bihishti	80,147
	Châin	28,610
	Gond	115,651
	Gorchha	963
	Kahâr	1,191,560
	Kewat	315,882
	Lorha	2,622
	Mallâh	369,008
	Mukeri	6,245
	Nânbâi . . .	2,177
	Sejwâri	286
	TOTAL .	2,215,611
Rice Huskers . . .	Barwâr	2,379
	Kûta	4,029
	TOTAL .	6,408

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Distillers	Kalwâr	348,790
Toddy Drawers . . .	Bind	76,986
	Tarmâli	27
	TOTAL .	77,013
Butchers	Chik	9,430
	Khatik	189,925
	Qassâb	148,516
	TOTAL .	347,871
Lime Burners . . .	Sunkar	1,396
Leather Workers . .	Chamâr	5,816,487
	Dabgar	1,462
	Dhâlgar	8,019
	Mochi	11,693
	TOTAL .	5,829,707
Village Watchmen .	.....	80,574
	Balâhar	2,369
	Boriya	26,909
	Dhânuk	146,190
	Dhârhi	12,072
	Khangâr	32,929
	Kotwâr	97

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Village Watchmen—*continued.*	Pahriya	495
	Pâsi	1,219,311
	TOTAL	1,521,836
Scavengers	Bhangi	414,946
	Domar	16,037
	TOTAL	430,983
Grindstone Makers and Stone Quarriers.	Khumra	5,198 3,730
Knife Grinders	Saiqalgar	4,206
Mat Makers and Cane Splitters.	Bânsphor	17,333
	Basor	25,447
	Dharkâr	29,639
	Dom	270,560
	Dorha	68
	Dusâdh	82,913
	Kharot	5,641
	Pankhiya	913
	Tarkihâr	2,747
	TOTAL	435,261
Hunters, Fowlers, etc.	Aheriya	19,768
	Bahelya	33,755
	Bandi	110

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Hunters, Fowlers etc., — *continued.*	Bangâli	1,853
	Gandhila	134
	Gidiya	17
	Kanjar	17,873
	TOTAL .	73,010
Miscellaneous, and Disreputable Livers.	Baddhik	126
	Barwâr	2,703
	Bâwariya	2,729
	Bhântu	372
	Dalera	2,223
	Hâbûra	2,596
	Harjala	275
	Hijra	1,125
	Sânsiya	4,390
	Siyârmâr	1
	TOTAL .	16,450
Tumblers and Acrobats .	Nat	63,584
Castes foreign to the Province	Satgop	177
	Sûd	147
	TOTAL .	324

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Indian Nationalities not returned by castes.	Bhotiya	7,467
	Mandrâji	31
	Marhatta	732
	Pindâri	27
	TOTAL	8,527
Sectarian Castes	Nau-muslim	88,444
	Sâdh	1,870
	TOTAL	90,314
Non-Indian Asiatic Races	Bilooh	13,672
	Irâqi	11,677
	Mughal	76,673
	Pathân	700,393
	Shaikh	1,333,566
	Sayyid	242,811
	Turk	4,994
	TOTAL	2,383,786
Non-Asiatic Races	Armenians	54
	Europeans	27,941
	Habshi	194
	TOTAL	28,189

Class.	Caste or Tribe.	Strength.
Eurasians	Eurasians	7,040
Christian Converts . .	Native Christians . .	23,406
Castes, unspecified . .	.....	22,489
Provincial Total . .	Hindu	40,380,168
	Musalmân	6,346,667
	Jaina	84,601
	Christian	58,441
	Arya	22,053
	Sikh	11,343
	Buddhist	1,387
	Pârsi	342
	Jew	60
	Brahmo	14
	Deist	3
	Unspecified . . .	22
	GRAND TOTAL .	46,905,085

CHAPTER IV.

Tribal Nomenclature.

Territorial titles.

The question of the origin of tribal nomenclature is a very interesting one, but too wide for detailed analysis at present. The broad features of it are plain enough. We have, to begin with, the territorial title. Such abound in various forms all through the tribal lists, and the preference shown for special places, raises many curious considerations. To attempt a rough classification of this kind of title, we have first those of the most general kind, such as Desi, "of the land," and Pardesi, "from beyond the land." Then come Pûrabi, "Eastern," Dakkhinâha, "Southern," Pachhiwâha, "Western," and Uttarâha "Northern," which are arranged in the order of their popularity. We have next names indicating geographical areas, such as Madhesiya, "residents of Madhyadesa," "the middleland," roughly speaking, bounded by the Himalayas on the north, the Vindhyas on the south and along the Ganges Plain from the Panjâb frontiers to Allahâbâd. Similar to this is Antarvedi, or "those resident in the Lower Ganges-Jumna-Duâb," from about Etâwa to the junction at Allahâbâd; and Banaudhiya, or those of South Oudh, with parts of Azamgarh, Jaunpur and Benares.

Names derived from rivers.

2. Next we have names taken from the position of tribes and clans in relation to the great rivers—Gangapâri, "those

beyond the Ganges," Jumnapâri, "those beyond the Jumna," and, most popular of all, Sarwariya, or Sarjupâri, "those beyond the Sarju."

Names derived from famous cities.

3. Then we have a set of names derived from famous cities which have long sunk into decay, such as Kanaujiya, "those of Kanauj;" Srivastâvya, corrupted into Sibâstav or Bâtham, from Srâvasti, in North Oudh, now represented by Sahet-Mahet. Another of these ruined cities is Sankisa, in the Farrukhâbâd District, which gives its name to the Saksena Kâyasths, and to many other tribal sections. If Dhusiya is a corruption of Jhusiya it embodies the name of the old town of Jhûsi, on the Ganges, the capital of King Harbong, who is famous in folklore as the hero of many tales of the "Wise men of Gotham" type. Why Jais, now a petty town in the Râê Bareli District, gave its name to the numerous Jaiswâr sections, no one can tell, except on the supposition that it was a much more important place than it is now. The ruins and ancient mounds at Ahâr and Baran prove their former greatness. The name of the ancient kingdom of Magadha survives in that of the Magahiya Doms and many other tribal sections.

Names derived from religious sites.

4. The famous religious sites throughout the Province have naturally left their trace on the caste nomenclature—such are Ajudhya, the land of Braj, Mathura and Brindaban, Gokul and Hardwâr, Chunâr and Rajghât, which are all represented; but it is curious how little trace there is of Prayâga or Allahâbâd, and Kâshi or Benares, while

places like Bindhâchal, Badarinâth, Bithûr and Batesar are not found at all.

Names derived from other towns.

5. Among existing towns and cities within the Province, Amethi, Azamgarh, Bahrâich, Ghâzipur, Gorakhpur, Hamîrpur, Jalesar, Mainpuri (in connection with its Chauhâns), Partâbgarh, Râjpur, Râmnagar, Râmpur, Fatehpur, Sikri (if the theory be correct that the name of the Sakarwâr sect is derived from it), Jaunpur (in remembrance of its Sharqi Kings), give their name to many sections. But the great capitals like Delhi and Agra, probably owing to their comparatively recent origin, have left little trace, and Lucknow is not found at all; while Cawnpur (Kânhpur) gives its name to an important Râjput sept, and many sections of less important tribes.

Names derived from places outside the province.

6. Many of these local names are taken from places outside the Province. From Bengal we have Baksar, Bhojpur, Gaur (if the old Bengal capital has anything to say to the many tribes and sections of the name), Hâjipur, Patna; from the Panjâb, Panjâbi, Lâhauri and Multâni; from the North, Naipâli, Janakpuri, Kashmîri; from the far West, Bhatner, Gujarât, Indaur, Jaypur, Jodhpur, Mârwâr, Osi, and Pâli are all found; from Madras we have Karnâtak; from Persia, Shirâzi.

Names derived from ancient tribes.

7. It is a curious fact that so few of the tribes mentioned in the Mahâbhârata and in mediæval lists, such as those of the Vishnu Purâna, have left their trace in the tribal

nomenclature. Panchâla, the great kingdom which extended north and west of Delhi, and from the Himalaya to the Chambal, has disappeared. The Abhîras, in name at least, are represented by the Ahîrs: the Ambashthas by one very doubtful legend with the Amethiya Râjputs: the Gahvaras or Girigavaras with the Gaharwâr Râjputs: the Haihayas with the Hayobans: the Kambojas with the Kambohs: the Kaivartas with the Kewats: the Khasakas or Khasikas with the Khasiya Râjputs: the Kulindas possibly with the Kunets: the Mâlavas with the Mâlavis: the Malas with the Mals: the Nishâdas with the Nikhâd section: the Takkas with the Tânk Râjputs: the Tomaras with the Tomars: the Yâdavas with the Jâdons. But of the Angas of Bhâgalpur, the Aparakâshis near Benares, the Bahlîkas, the Bahîkas, the Bahayas, the Bhojas, the Kûrus, the Mekâlas, the Sâkas, Salwas, Surasenas, Yamunas, there is perhaps no trace in the existing caste lists. The fact seems to be that these were nations or tribes, and it was on the break up of their tribal organization that the existing castes arose. As Dr. Robertson Smith showed, the same state of things existed in early Arabian History.[1]

Eponymous titles.

8. Next to these names derived from the local areas occupied by tribes, septs, and sections, we have the eponymous titles derived from the worthies of the ancient days. Thus Vatsa seems to give his name to the Bachgoti, Raja Vena to the Benbans: the Rishi Bhâradwaja constantly appears,

[1] *Kinship*, 239.

while Vasishtha is absent. Râja Durga is represented in the Durgbansis; and we meet constantly with Garga, Gautama, Parâsara, Raghu, and Sandila. Later in history come saints and holy men like Kabîr, Lâlbeg, Madâr, Malûkdâs, and Nânak. Akbar, Humâyun and Shâhjahân have disappeared, and perhaps the only monarchs of the Delhi line who have survived in the caste names are Shêr Shâh and Salîm Shâh, who give their name to two divisions of the Bhathiyâras. A sub-caste of the Chhîpis take their name from Todar Mal, the famous minister of Akbar.

Names derived from Râjput septs.

9. Much of the caste nomenclature is taken from that of the famous Râjput septs who employed or protected the menial peoples. No names recur more often among the sections of the inferior castes than Chauhân, Gaharwâr, Gahlot, Bargûjar, Râthaur, Kachhwâha, Jâdon and Tomar, which possibly represent the serfs and helots attached to them.

Occupational titles.

10. Next comes the great mass of occupational titles, the Bardhiya, "ox-men;" Bedbâf, "cane twisters;" Bâzigar, "acrobats;" Beldâr, "spademen;" Bhainsaha, "buffalo-men;" Bhusiya, chaff men;" Chiryamâr, "fowlers;" Chobdâr, "mace-bearers;" Dhâlgar, "shield makers;" Dhankûta, "grinders of paddy;" Dhânuk, "bowmen;" Dharkâr, "rope twisters;" Dhelphor, "clod breakers;" Dhenkuliya, "those who work the water lever;" Dhobi, "the washermen;" Dholi, "drummers;" Gadariya, "shepherds;" Ghosi, "those that shout after the cattle;" Guâla, "cow-keepers;" Hardiya, "turmeric growers;"

Jauhari, "jewellers;" Jonkâha, "leech men;" Julâha, "thread makers;" Kamângar, "makers of bows;" Khâlranga, "dyers of hides;" Kingriya, "violin players;" Kisân and Koeri, "ploughmen;" Kûnchhand, "makers of weavers' brushes;" Kuppêsâz, "leather vessel moulders;" Lakarhâr, "the workers in wood;" Lohiya, "the dealers in iron;" Luniya, "the saltmen," and Labâna, "the salt carriers;" Machhimâra, "the fish-killer;" Manihâr, "the jeweller;" Pahlwân, "the wrestler;" Pattharâha, "the stone workers;" Pâwariya, "the singer on a mat;" Piyâzi, "the growers of onions;" Singiwâla, "the cupper," and Sirkiband, "the people who live under a thatch."

Personal or contemptuous titles.

11. Then we have names derived from personal peculiarities or used in a contemptuous sense. The sweeper is Mehtar or "prince," and Bhangi, "the rascal who intoxicates himself with hemp:" in the same range are Barpagwa "he that wears the broad turban;" Kabûtari, "she that flirts like the pigeon;" Kalkamaliya, "they that wear black blankets;" Kâmchor, "the loafer;" Kanphata, "he with the torn ears;" Kodokhânê, "they who eat the *kodo* millet;" and Maskhân, "the eaters of flesh." Like these are the titles of Khalîfa for a cook or tailor, Jamadâr for a sweeper, and so on.[1]

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[1] Some of Mr. Nesfield's identifications and derivation of tribal names must be received with caution *e.g.*, the connection of the Musahar and Bâri; of the Koli and Koiri with the Kol; the Kalwâr with the Kharwâr or Khairwâr; the Bâdi with the Bhât.

Totemistic titles.

12. Incidentally some reference has been elsewhere made to totemism in connection with the origin of exogamy. From the details which are given in the following pages, and need not be repeated here, it will be seen that there are undoubted survivals of totemism among some of the Dravidian and menial tribes. These take the form of section names obviously derived from those of animals, plants, trees, and the like, the destruction, eating or even touching of which by members of the section whose names are thus derived is prohibited by a rigid tribal sanction. Though the evidence for the existence of totemism among at least one part of the population of this part of India seems sufficient, it will be seen that it now-a-days lurks only among the most primitive tribes. The fact seems to be that, like so many usages of the kind, it has been carried away by the flood of Brâhmanism which has overflowed the land. There is a constant tendency for tribes as they rise in the social scale to adopt the Brâhmanical *gotras*, because it is a respectable fact to belong to one of them. Thus all the stricter Hindu castes, like Banyas, Khatris, and even Kâyasths, recognise the *gotra*. The fiction of common descent from the eponymous ancestor naturally disappears, and among such people the *gotra* has no higher significance than the pedigree worked up to order in the Herald's College, which ranks the *novus homo* through the use of a common crest and coat-of-arms with the great houses of Cavendish, Russel, or Howard.

The family and the sept.

13. We have seen that it is in the groups or camps of the vagrant tribes like the Beriya, Hâbûra and Sânsiya, that we must look to find what is perhaps the most primitive form of human association, and that the family was almost certainly not the primitive unit, but the sept. The family, in short, arose out of the sept when the stage arrived at which paternity and the incidents connected with it came to be recognised. But of the real tribal form of caste in which the association is based on actual or assumed community of blood through a common ancestor, we find little or no trace, except as Mr. Ibbetson[1] showed to be the case among the Pathâns and Bilûches of the western frontier, who are foreigners in this part of India. But even here the fiction of common descent is being gradually weakened by the wholesale admission of outsiders into the fraternity, who do not even pretend to be able to establish a genealogical connection with the original founder of the sept. Here, too, the differentiation of industries is leading to a distinction, even among the members of the association linked together in theory by the bond of blood. In theory any Pathân, Mughal or Sayyid may marry any girl of his tribe; but if he falls in social position or adopts any degrading occupation his difficulty in marrying into a respectable family is as difficult as it would be in Germany or even in some grades of English society for a parvenu to marry into a family whose claims to rank are undisputed.

[1] Panjâb Ethnography, 176.

14. To return to the occupational type of caste, there is here, as Mr Ibbetson [1] has already pointed out, a further distinction. There is the true occupational caste like the Nâi, Chamâr, or Bhangi, and there is the trade-guild association, which is much more flexible than the former, and is generally found in towns, and bears a Muhammadan name, like the Darzi, Âtishbâz, or Nâlband. This form is most unstable at the present day, and one of the main difficulties of the classification of caste statistics lies in the fact that from one decennial period to another new groups are constantly organizing themselves by a process of fission from other groups. Thus the Bâghbân, or gardener, is an offshoot of the Kâchhi, the Sangtarâsh or stone-cutter, from the Gonr, or others who engage in similar industries, the Mewafarosh, or fruit-seller, and the Sabzifarosh, or seller of herbs, from the Kunjra or green-grocer. Here, in fact, we can stand and watch the creation of new so-called castes before our eyes. And the process is facilitated by the creation of new religious groups, which base their association on the common belief in the teaching of some saint or reformer. Most of these sects are connected with the Vaishnava side of Hinduism, and are devoted to the solution of much the same religious questions which beset the searcher after truth in western lands. All naturally aim at the abolition of the privileges and pretensions of the dominant Brâhman Levite, and the establishment of a purer and more intellectual form of public worship.

Distinctions of the occupational type.

[1] *Loc. cit.* 178.

CHAPTER V.

EXOGAMY.

1. No enquiry into the social relations of the Hindus can leave out of account the thorny subject of the origin of exogamy. By exogamy is generally understood the prohibition which exists against a man marrying within the group to which he belongs: to follow Mr. D. McLennan's definition,[1] exogamy is prohibition of marriage between all persons recognized as being of the same blood, because of their common blood—whether they form one community or parts of several communities, and accordingly it may prevent marriage between persons who (though of the same blood) are of different local tribes, while it frequently happens that it leaves persons of the same local tribe (but who are not of the same blood) free to marry one another. "Endogamy," on the other hand, "allows marriage only between persons who are recognised as being of the same blood connection or kindred, and if, where it occurs, it confines marriage to the tribe or community, it is because the tribe regards itself as comprising a kindred."

Various forms of exogamy.

2. Before discussing the possible origin of exogamy it may be well to explain some of its various forms, of which numerous details, so far as it has been possible to ascertain them, are given in the subsequent pages. We have, then, first

[1] Quoted by Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., *Introduction*, XLIII.

the Brâhmanical law of exogamy. Persons are forbidden according to the Sanskrit law-books, to intermarry, who are related as sapindas, that is to say, who are within five degrees of affinity on the side of the father. The person himself is counted as one of these degrees, that is to say, two persons are sapindas to each other, if their common ancestor being a male is not further removed from either of them than six degrees, or four degrees where the common ancestor is female.[1]

The gotra.

3. These prohibitions form a list of prohibited degrees in addition to the ordinary formula, which prevents a Brâhman or a member of those castes which ape the Brâhmanical organization, from marrying within his *gotra* or exogamous section. The word *gotra* means "a cow-pen," and each bears the name of some Rishi or mythical saint, from whom each member of the group is supposed to be descended. Theoretically all the Brâhmanical *gotras* have eight great ancestors only—Visvamitra, Jamadagni, Bhâradvaja, Gautama, Atri, Vasishtha, Kasyapa, and Agastya. These occupy with the Brâhmans pretty much the same position as the twelve sons of Jacob with the Jews; and only he whose descent from one of these mighty Rishis was beyond all doubt could become a founder of a *gotra*.[2] The next point to remark is that, as Mr. Ibbetson[3] has pointed out, the names of many

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[1] *Manu, Institutes*, III., 5, and other authorities quoted by Mayne, *Hindu Law*, 73.

[2] For further details see Haug *Aitareya Brâhmanam*, II., 479 *sq.*

[3] *Panjâb Ethnography*, 182.

of the founders of these *gotras* appear among the ancient genealogies of the earliest Râjput dynasties, the Râjas in question being not merely namesakes of, but distinctly stated to be the actual founders of the *gotra;* and it would be strange if enquiry were to show that the priestly classes, like the menials, owe their tribal divisions to the great families to whom their ancestors were attached.

All that we know at present about the evolution of the Brâhmanical tribal system tends to confirm this theory. At any rate, whatever may be the origin of these Brâhmanical *gotras*, it must be remembered that the system extends to all respectable Hindus. As soon as a caste rises in the social scale a compliant priest is always ready to discover an appropriate *gotra* for the aspirant, just as an English brewer, raised to the peerage, has little difficulty in procuring a coat-of-arms and a pedigree which links him with the Norman conquest. It is obvious in such cases that the idea of common descent from the eponymous founder of the *gotra* becomes little more than a pious fiction. But among many of the Râjputs who have been promoted at a later date, and in particular with more recent converts to orthodox Hinduism from the forest tribes, with a comical disregard for the theory of *gotra* exogamy, we find the sept enjoying only a single *gotra*, and this is very often that of Bhâradvaja, which is a sort of refuge for the destitute who can find no other place of rest. As has already been shown, some of the sectional titles are eponymous, like those of the *gotras* named after the

famous Rishis; others like the Durgbans Râjputs take their name from an historical personage; others, again, are totemistic, and others purely territorial.

Exogamy among the lower castes.

4. Passing on to the inferior castes, such as those of the agriculturists, artisans, and menials generally, we find very considerable differences in their internal structure: some are divided into regular endogamous sub-castes, which again are provided with exogamous sections, or, where these are absent, practise a special exogamous rule which bars intermarriage by reckoning as prohibited degrees seven (sometimes more or sometimes less) generations in the descending line. But it is obvious that, as in the case of Brâhmans, this rule which prohibits intermarriage within the section, is one-sided in its application, as Mr. Risley remarks:—"In no case may a man marry into his own section, but the name of the section goes by the male side, and consequently, *so far as the rule of exogamy is concerned*, there is nothing to prevent him from marrying his sister's daughter, his maternal aunt, or even his maternal grandmother." Hence came the ordinary formula which prevails generally among the inferior castes that a man cannot marry in the line of his paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, maternal aunt. But even this formula is not invariably observed. What the low caste villager will say if he is asked regarding his prohibited degrees, is that he will not take a bride from a family into which one of his male relations has married, until all recollection of the relationship has disappeared. And as rural memory runs hardly

more than three generations, any two families may intermarry, provided they were not connected by marriage within the last sixty or seventy years. It is only when a man becomes rich and ambitious, begins to keep an astrologer and Pandit, and to live as an orthodox Hindu, that he thinks much about his *gotra*. To procure one and have the proper prohibited degrees regularly worked out is only a matter of money.

5. Having thus endeavoured briefly to explain the rules of exogamy which regulate the different classes of Hindus,[1] we are now in a position to examine the various explanations which have been suggested to account for this custom.

McLennan's theory of exogamy.

6. The earliest theory was that of Mr. McLennan,[2] who began by calling attention to the fact that there are numerous survivals of marriage by capture, such as the mock struggle for the bride and so on, to which more particular reference is made in another place: that these symbols show that at one time people were accustomed to procure their wives by force. He went on to argue that among primitive nomadic groups, where the struggle for existence was intense, the girls would be a source

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[1] The formula of Muslim exogamy is thus given in the Qurân, *Surah* IV., 27:—"Ye are forbidden to marry your mothers, your daughters, your sisters and your aunts both on the father's and on the mother's side; your brother's daughters and your sister's daughters; your mothers who have given you suck and your foster sisters; your wives' mothers and your daughters-in-law born of your wives with whom ye have cohabited. Ye are also prohibited to take to wife two sisters (except what is already past) nor to marry women who are already married."

[2] *Studies in Ancient History*, 75 *sqq*.

of weakness to the community: such children would be ill-protected and nourished, and female infanticide would occur. Hence, owing to the scarcity of brides, youths desirous of marrying would be obliged to resort to violence and capture women by force from the groups. This would in time produce the custom in favour of, or the prejudice against, (which in the case of marriage would soon have the force of tribal law) marrying women within the tribe. This theory has been criticized at length by Mr. Herbert Spencer and Dr. Westermarck[1] mainly on the following grounds :—" The custom cannot have originated from the lack of women, because the tribes that use it are mostly polygamous. It is, again, not proved to prevail among races which practise polyandry. The evidence of the widespread custom of female infanticide among groups in this assumed stage of social development is not conclusive. Primitive man does not readily abandon the instinct of love of the young which he possesses in common with all the lower animals, and women, so far from being useless to the savage, are most valuable as food providers. Further, there may be a scarcity of women in a tribe, and youths unable to find partners be forced to seek wives in another group, the difficulty remains why marriage with surviving tribal women should not only be unfashionable, but prohibited by the severest penalties; in some cases that of death. The position of such women would be nothing

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[1] *Principles of Sociology*, I., 614, *sqq.* : *History of Human Marriage*, 311, *sqq.*

short of intolerable, because they could not marry unless an outsider chose to ravish them."

Spencer's theory of exogamy.

7. Conscious of these and other difficulties which surrounded Mr. McLennan's explanation, Mr. Herbert Spencer suggested another theory. According to him[1] exogamy is the result of the constant inter-tribal war which prevailed in early societies. Women, like all other live-stock, would be captured. A captured woman, besides her intrinsic value, has an extrinsic value: "like a native wife she serves as a slave; but, unlike a native wife, she also serves as a trophy." Hence to marry a strange woman would be a test of valour, and non-possession of a foreign wife a sign of cowardice. The ambition, thus stimulated, would lead to the discontinuance of marriage within the tribe. This theory is, as has been shown by Mr. Starcke[2] and Dr. Westermarck,[3] open to much the same objections as that of Mr. McLennan. As before, even if it became customary to appropriate foreign women by force, we are a long way from the absolute prohibition against marrying women of the tribe. The desire of the savage for polygamy would impel him to marriage with any woman whether of the tribe or not. The women of a tribe habitually victorious in war would be condemned to enforced celibacy: a usage based on victory in war could not have extended to the vanquished: the powerful feeling against

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[1] *Loc. cit.* I., 619, *sqq.*

[2] *Primitive Family*, 216, *sqq.*

[3] *History of Human Marriage*, 316 *sq.*

marriage with near relations could not have arisen merely from the vain desire to possess a woman as a trophy: and lastly, we have no examples of a tribe which did or does marry only captive women, or, indeed, in which such marriages are preferred.

Lubbock's theory of exogamy.

8. Sir John Lubbock's[1] theory again depends on his theory of what he calls communal marriage, by which all the women of the group were at the general disposal of all the males. This, however, he thinks, would not be the case with women seized from a different tribe. This theory, so far as it is concerned with communal marriage and polyandry, is discussed elsewhere. It is enough here to say that the evidence for the existence of either among the primitive races of this part of India appears entirely insufficient, and it is difficult to understand, even if communal marriage prevailed, how women captured, as must have been the case, by the general act of members of the group, could have been protected from that form of outrage which would naturally have been their lot.

Starcke's theory.

9. Mr. Starcke[2] in his account of exogamy attempts to draw a distinction between the license which would permit intercourse between kinsfolk and prohibit marriage between them:—"The clan, like the family, is a legal group, and the groups were kept together by legal bonds long

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[1] *Origin of Civilisation*, 135, *sq.*

[2] *Primitive Family*, 230, *sq.*

before the ties of blood had any binding power. The same ideas which impelled a man to look for a wife outside his family, also impelled him to look for her outside the clan." This depends upon the further assumption that early marriage was not simply a sexual relation, a fact which he can hardly be considered to have fully established.

Tylor's theory of exogamy.

10. All these theories, it will be observed, base exogamy more or less on the abhorrence of incest. Dr. Tylor,[1] on the other hand, represents it as a means by which "a growing tribe is enabled to keep itself compact by constant unions between its spreading clans." That exogamy may have been a valuable means of advancing political influence is true enough, but, as Dr. Westermarck objects, it does not account for the cases in which inter-tribal cohabitation was repressed by the most stringent penalties, even by death.[2]

Morgan's theory of exogamy.

11. Next comes that advocated by Mr. Morgan[3] and others, that it arises from the recognition of the observed evils of intermarriage between near relations. This theory has been with some slight modifications accepted by Dr. Westermarck[4] and Mr. Risley.[5] Briefly put, it comes to this: No theory of exogamy can be satisfactorily

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[1] *Journal Anthropological Institute*, XVIII., 267, *sqq.*

[2] *Loc. cit.*, 317.

[3] *Ancient Society*, 424.

[4] *Loc. cit. Chapter* XV.

[5] *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Introduction, LXII.

based on any conscious recognition by the savage of the evils of interbreeding. Of all the instincts of primitive man the erotic are the most imperious and the least under control. To suppose that a man in this stage of culture calmly discusses the question whether his offspring from a woman of his group are likely to be weaklings is preposterous. But the adoption of marriage outside the group would, in the end, by the process of natural selection, give the group practising it a decided physical advantage. As Mr. Risley puts it:—"As a result of the survival of the fittest the crossed families would tend more and more to replace the pure families, and would at the same time tend to become more and more exogamic in habits, simply as the result of the cumulative hereditary strengthening of the original instinct. It would further appear that the element of sexual selection might also be brought into play, as an exogamous family or group would have a larger range of selection than an endogamous one, and would thus get better women, who again, in the course of the primitive struggle for wives, would be appropriated by the strongest and most warlike man."

12. This theory, which bases exogamy on the unconscious result of natural selection, gradually weeding out those groups which persisted in the practice of endogamy, and replacing them by a healthier and more vigorous race, seems on the whole best to account for existing facts. It is, however, perhaps premature to suppose that in all cases the same end was reached by the same course. All through the myths of early India

nothing comes out more clearly than the instructive hatred of the Arya or white man for the Dasyu, or the man of the black skin. The balance of opinion now seems to be moving in the direction of assuming that the so-called Aryan invasion was much more moral than physical, that the attempt to discriminate between the ethnological strata in the population is practically impossible. The conversion may have been the work, not of armies of invaders moving down the valleys of the Ganges and Jumna, but of small bodies of missionaries who gradually effected a moral conquest and introduced their religion and law among a population with whom they ultimately to a large extent amalgamated. That some form of exogamy was an independent discovery made by the autochthones prior to their intercourse with the Aryans seems certain; but it is possible that the special form of prohibited degrees which was enforced among the higher races may have been to some extent the result partly of their isolation in small communities among a black-skinned population, and partly, as Dr. Tylor suggests, as a means of enhancing the political importance and establishing the influence of these groups. That this procuring of suitable brides from foreign groups was sometimes impossible is proved by the curious Buddhistic legend that the Sakyas became endogamous because they could get no wives of their own rank, and were in consequence known as "pigs" and "dogs" by their neighbours.[1]

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[1] Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 130, 203, 318.

Exogamy and Totemism.

13. There is, however, another side to the discussion on the origin of exogamy which must not be neglected. In another place I have collected some of the evidence as to the existence of totemism in Northern India.[1]

The present survey has given indication of the existence of totemistic sections among at least twenty-four tribes, most of whom are of Dravidian origin.

Now we know that one of the ordinary incidents of totemism is that persons of the same totem may not marry or have sexual intercourse with each other,[2] and it is perhaps possible that, among the Dravidians at least, one basis of exogamy may have rested on their totemistic group organization. The indications of totemism are, however, too vague and uncertain, being mainly based on the fact that the names of many of their sections are taken from those of animals and plants, to make it possible at present to express a definite opinion on such an obscure subject.

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[1] *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 278, *sqq.*

[2] Frazer, *Totemism*, 58, *sqq.*

CHAPTER VI.

Forms of Hindu Marriage.

Communal marriage.

Reference has already been made to the question of communal marriage in connection with the origin of exógamy. It has been observed that the evidence is insufficient to justify the belief that among any of the tribes or castes of this part of India the women are at the common service of all the men of the group. On the authority of a compilation entitled, "*The People of India*,"[1] it has been regarded as established that "the Teehurs of Oudh live together almost indiscriminately in large communities, and even when two people are regarded as married the tie is but nominal." This has been since quoted as one of the stock examples of communal marriage in India.[2] Now of the Tiyars we have fairly complete accounts. The Oudh people of that name are a sept of Râjputs in the Sultânpur District, who do not appear in the enumeration of the last census. There is another body of Tiyars who are a sub-caste of the Mallâh, or boatman class, found to the number of 1,865 souls in the Ghâzipur District. They are numerous in Behâr and Bengal, and Mr. Risley has given a full account of them.[3] There is no evidence whatever that anything like communal marriage

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[1] II. *Page* 85.

[2] *e. g.*, by Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 89.

[3] *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, II., 328, *sqq.*

prevails among them. The fact seems to be that by the necessities of their occupation the husbands leave their wives for long periods at a time and go on voyages as far as Calcutta. That a high standard of female morality is maintained during their absence it would be rash to assert: but this is very different from communal marriage. A rather better example comes from the Beriyas, one of the nomadic and criminal gypsy tribes. The girls of the tribe are reserved, in the Central Ganges-Jumna-Duâb, for prostitution, and if any member of the tribe marries a girl devoted to this occupation, he has to pay a fine to the tribal council. This is what Sir John Lubbock would term "expiation for marriage," the annexation of the woman by one individual man of the group being regarded as improper.[1] Dr. Westermarck, it may be remarked, disputes the connection of this custom with communal marriage.[2]

Laxity of female morality.

2. It is true that among many of the Dravidian tribes and those of the lower Himâlayas, like the Thârus, the standard of female morality is very low. Intrigues of unmarried girls, or even of married women, are very lightly regarded, provided the paramour is a clansman. Numerous instances of customs of this kind will be found in the following pages. The penalty on the relatives of the offenders is usually a fine in the shape of a compulsory feast to the tribesmen. On the other hand, the penalty is much more

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[1] *Origin of Civilization*, 126.
[2] *History of Human Marriage*, 73.

severe if the woman's lover belongs to a strange tribe. If he belongs to one of the higher tribes, the punishment is much less than if he belongs to one of the degraded menial races, such as the Dom, Dharkâr, or Bhangi. In such cases the woman is almost invariably permanently excommunicated. The tolerance of intertribal immorality, while significant is, however, far from actually legalised community of women.

The *jus primæ noctis.*

3. The custom of the *jus primæ noctis* has been also adduced as a proof of the existence of communal marriage. Of this the examples collected in the present survey are slight and inconclusive. \\ The Ahîrs and many similar tribes have a custom of paying a fee to the village landlord at a marriage. This is known as *mandwâna* from *mándo,* the hut or pavilion in which the marriage is performed. // This is hardly more than one of the common village manorial dues, and it is pressing the custom to an illegitimate extent to regard it as a commutation for the *jus primæ noctis.* There is reason to believe that in comparatively modern times some of the Râjas of Rîwa, a native state bordering on these Provinces, in their annual progresses, insisted on a supply of girls from the lower tribes, and there are still villages which are said to have been presented to the ancestors of women honoured in this way. But this is far from sufficient evidence for anything like the general prevalence of the custom, which is regarded with abhorrence by the public opinion of the country side.

4. The same feeling prevails as regards polyandry which, according to Mr. McLennan, formed one of the regular stages in the evolution of marriage. There is certainly no ground for believing that at any time polyandry flourished as a permanent domestic institution. At the same time it seems quite certain that it has prevailed and does still prevail in Northern India, but usually among isolated communities and under exceptional circumstances.

Polyandry.

5. To begin with the evidence from history or myth. The legend of the five Pândavas who took Draupadî as a joint wife, has been generally accepted as a proof that it existed among the people whom, for the sake of convenience, we call the early Aryans. It is true that the compilers of the Mahâbhârata clearly wish to refer to it as an exceptional case, and to whittle away its significance by representing it as a result of their misconception of their mother's order. But there is reason to believe that it was not so exceptional as they endeavour to make out. In the discussion which followed, one of the princes quoted as a precedent the case of Jatilâ, "that most excellent of moral women who dwelt with seven saints, and Varkshî, the daughter of a Muni, who cohabited with ten brothers, all of them Prachetas, whose souls had been purified by penance." We have next the case of the Aswins who had between them one woman, Sûryâ, the daughter of the sun. Even in the Râmâyana the giant Viradha imputes that Râma and

Lakshmana jointly share the favours of Sîtâ.[1] Professor Lassen's theory that the whole story of Draupadî and her five lovers is only the symbolical indication of an alliance between the king of Panchâla and the five tribes represented by the five Pândavas has met with little support.

For the fraternal form of polyandry practised by some of the Himalayan races, there is ample evidence. According to Mr. Drew, a very careful observer, it originated in the smallness of the amount of land which could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources: while the isolation from the rest of the world, isolation of manners, language and religions, as well as geographical isolation, hindered emigration.[2] According to Dr. Wilson, polyandry in Tibet is not due to the scarcity of women, as a number of surplus women are provided for in the Lama nunneries.[3]

6. As regards the plains, we know that the prevalence of polyandry was noticed by the Greeks in the Panjâb.[4] Of the Gakkars Farishta[5] tells us that "it was the custom as soon as a female child was born to

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[1] For a discussion on these early cases of supposed polyandry see Dr. J. Muir, *Indian Antiquary*, VI., 260 *sqq.*: E. Thomas, *ibid.*, VI., 275: *Rig Veda* I., 119, 5: Wilson, *Essays*, II., 340: Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 44, *sqq.*: *Westminster Review*, 1868, page 412: Lang, *Custom and Myth*, II., 155.

[2] *Jummoo*, 250.

[3] *Abode of Snow*. 231. For Tibetan Polyandry generally see C. Horne, *Indian Antiquary*, V., 164: C. R. Stulpnagel, *ibid.*, VII., 132, *sqq.*: Yule *Marco Polo*, *II.*, 33, 38, 40: Williams, *Memo of Dehra Dûn*, 175.

[4] Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk*, 2nd Edition, II. 454.

[5] Brigge, *Translation*, I., 183, *sq.*

carry her to the door of the house and there proclaim aloud, holding the child with one hand, that any person who wanted a wife might now take her, otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife. When the wife was visited by one of her husbands she left a mark at the door, which, being observed by any of the other husbands, he withdrew till the signal was taken away." Similar customs prevailed among the Khokars of the Panjâb,[1] and the Panjâb Jâts.[2]

7. In all these cases it would seem that polyandry is associated with, and in fact dependent on, female infanticide. In the course of the present survey, it has been ascertained that the custom prevails among some of the pastoral tribes, such as Ahîrs, Gûjars and Jâts, chiefly in the upper valleys of the Ganges and Jumna. It has even been embodied in the current proverb :—*Do khasam kî joru, Chausar ka khel,*— "The wife with two lords is like a game of backgammon." The arrangement suits these pastoral people, who graze their herds in the river valleys. The brothers take it in turn to attend the cattle, and one remains at home in charge of the house-wife.

Niyoga and the levirate.

8. Whether the customs known as *niyoga* and the levirate are or are not connected with polyandry has been the subject of

[1] Ghulâm Bâsit : Dowson's Elliot, *History*, VIII., 202.
[2] Kirkpatrick, *Indian Antiquary*, VII., 80, *sq.*

much controversy. Mr. McLennan[1] asserted that the levirate, that is the practice of marrying the widow of a deceased brother, was derived from polyandry. The *niyoga*, or the custom of a widow cohabiting with the brother of her deceased husband, seems to be referred to in the Veda.[2] Manu[3] allows such unions of a widow with a brother-in-law or other relative of the deceased husband to continue only till one or at the most two sons have been begotten, and declares that they must then cease. In the verses which follow he restricts such temporary unions to classes below the twice-born, or (in contradistinction to what proceeds) condemns them altogether. By the law, as stated by Gautama,[4] a woman whose husband is dead, and who desires offspring, may bear a son to her brother-in-law. "Let her obtain the permission of her gurus (husband's relatives under whose protection she lives), and let her have intercourse during the proper season only. On failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring by cohabiting with a sapinda, or sagotra, or samân-pravara, or one who belongs to the same caste. Some declare that she shall cohabit with none but her brother-in-law. She shall not bear more than two sons. The child belongs to him who begot it, except if an agreement to the contrary have been made, and the child begotten at a living husband's request on his wife

[1] *Studies*, 112, *sqq*.

[2] *Rig Veda*, X., 40, 2; and Muir's remarks, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, V., 459.

[3] *Institutes*, IX., 59, 62; with Muir's comment, *Indian Antiquary*, VI. 315.

[4] Bühler, *Sacred Laws of the Aryans*, Part I., 267, *sq*.

belongs to the husband, but if it was begotten by a stranger, it belongs to the latter, or to both the natural father and the husband of the mother, but being reared by the husband belongs to him."

9. The best recent opinion is in opposition to the theory that the levirate or *niyoga* is a survival of polyandry. "The levir," says Mr. Mayne, "did not take his brother's widow as his wife. He simply did for his brother or other near relation, when deceased, what the latter might have authorised him, or any other person to do during his lifetime. And this, of course, explains why the issue so raised belonged to the deceased and not to the begetter. If it were a relic of polyandry, the issue would belong to the surviving polyandrous husband, and the wife would pass over to him as his wife."[1]

10. In modern times, in this part of India, practically all the tribes which permit widow marriage allow the levirate in the restricted form that it is only the younger son of the late husband who is allowed or expected to take the widow to wife. Whatever may have been the idea connected with this practice in early times, the fiction that the son was supposed "to raise up seed unto his brother" seems to have altogether disappeared, and no survival of this rule of affiliation has been discovered. In fact, according to common custom, the widow is regarded as a kind of property which has been purchased into the family by the payment of the bride-

[1] *Hindu Law*, 61; and see Starcke, *Primitive Family*, 141, *sqq.*: Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 510, *sqq.*

price; and among some of the Dravidian tribes there is a rule of tribal law that if the widow goes to live with a stranger to the family, he is bound to repay the bride-price, and in some cases the costs incurred in her first marriage, to her younger brother-in-law or his father. It is noticeable that in this form of the levirate alliance with the elder brother of her late husband is rigidly prohibited: in fact all through the Hindu caste system any intercourse, even to the extent of speaking to, touching, or appearing unveiled in the presence of, her husband's *Jeth*, or elder brother, is strictly guarded by a special taboo. There is a Behâr proverb—*Latul bhainsur dewar barâbar*—"a weak elder brother-in-law is like a younger brother-in-law, with whom you may take liberties."

Prevalence of widow marriage.

11. The statistics of the last Census fully illustrate the prevalence of widow marriage. To use Mr. Baillie's summary of the figures[1] "of 10,000 of the total Hindu population, 331 males and 817 females are widowed, 306 males and 747 females among Muhammadans, and no less than 639 males and 1,054 females among Jains."[2] It is clear, therefore, that both males and females, but particularly the latter, re-marry more extensively amongst Muhammadans than Hindus, and very much more frequently

[1] *Census Report, North-Western Provinces*, 1891, 240.

[2] The Panjâb returns show 145 widows to 1,000 women, 23 per cent. of women over 15 years of age are widows. This rises to 25 for Hindus and falls to 21 for Muhammadans. (Maclagan, *Census Report*, 226). Mr. O'Donnel (*Bengal Census Report*, 186) attributes much of the relative increase of Muhammadans in that Province to their toleration of widow marriage.

among Hindus than amongst Jains. As regards females this is exactly what might have been expected from what is known of the social circumstances of the three religions. Muhammadans permit re-marriage alike amongst males and females, and the excess of female widowed is due to the same reasons as the excess in England. The higher proportion of widowed of both sexes as compared with England is, of course, mainly due to the higher proportion of marriages. The somewhat higher proportion of excess among Muhammadan widows over Muhammadan widowers, as compared with English figures, is probably due to the greater facilities an English widow enjoys for re-marriage. Amongst Hindus, as is well known, re-marriage is in the higher castes permitted only for males. The castes which do not permit widow marriage are roughly one-fourth of the whole,[1] so that Hindus as regards female re-marriage occupy a position between Muhammadans and Jains, but nearer the former than the latter. The latter are practically, as regards such matters, Hindus of high caste, and permit no widow re-marriage: hence the high proportion of widows."

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[1] The exact figures are:—

Not permitting widow marriage	9,713,087, or 24·05 per cent.
Permitting widow marriage	30,667,081, or 75·95 per cent.
TOTAL HINDUS	40,380,168, or 100 per cent.

These figures are, however, subject to the correction that some even of the lower castes partially prohibit widow marriage, and this is represented by the Byâhut section, which appears in many of them. In the whole of the Behâr Provinces (*Census Report*, 200) the Musahars of the north-eastern area, with only 5·5 per cent. of widows amongst women between 15 and 40 years, are most addicted to widow marriage. The Thârus of Champâran, and the Dhobis, Lohârs and Dusâdhs of North-West Behâr, follow them very closely in this respect.

12. This marriage of widows, known to the east of the Province as sagâi and to the west as karâo and dharewa, is a perfectly legal form of marriage, and when recognised by the tribal council the children are regarded as legitimate and succeed to their father's estate. In subsequent pages will be found numerous details of the ritual in widow marriages. Among many of the lower castes the general rule appears to be that the widow is married to a widower: but this rule is subject to exceptions. The prohibited degrees for the widow are the same as for the virgin bride, with the additional limitation, as already explained, that she cannot marry her elder brother-in-law or her senior cousin. Though the marriage is quite legitimate, there is a certain amount of secrecy connected with it. It is performed at night. The bridegroom after eating with the woman's friends invests her with a new robe and some jewelry, and withdraws with her to a private room. Next day he brings her home and procures the recognition of the union by feasting his clansmen. The rules as regards the custody of children by the first marriage are not very clearly defined. The usual course seems to be that if she has an infant she takes it with her to her new home, where it is practically adopted by its step-father. Children who have passed the stage of helplessness fall under the guardianship of their uncles, who manage their estate until they attain years of discretion, or, in the case of girls, arrange their marriages.

Age for marriage.

13. As regards the age for marriage the following table taken from the last Census Report[1] deserves re-production.

[1] *Page* 246.

Age periods.	Absolute number of Males and Females Married.		Proportion to 10,000 of same Sex and Age Periods.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0 Year .	857	1,114	10	13
1 „ .	857	1,172	24	31
2 „ .	1,883	2,713	31	43
3 „ .	3,382	5,504	47	73
4 „ .	6,097	10,014	90	149
0 4 „ .	13,076	20,517	41	63
5 9 „ .	139,773	291,373	433	999
Total 0 9 „ .	152,849	311,890	238	506
10 14 „ .	684,952	1,221,070	2,417	5,744
15 19 „ .	1,020,582	1,507,733	5,014	9,119
20 24 „ .	1,443,669	1,911,373	6,923	9,404
25 29 „ .	1,654,290	1,856,524	7,849	9,155
30 34 „ .	1,778,861	1,747,479	8,206	8,501
35 39 „ .	1,135,619	988,812	8,526	8,010
40 44 „ .	1,393,582	1,050,977	8,157	6,438
45 49 „ .	661,188	434,907	7,970	6,002
50 54 „ .	885,634	454,625	7,541	3,891
55 59 „ .	263,152	142,643	7,134	4,216
60 and over .	746,220	245,005	6,142	1,688
Total .	11,820,598	11,873,838	4,863	5,253

Thus 1,971 persons are shown as married in the first year of life. What is known as the *petmanganiya* or "womb betrothal," that is the engagement of unborn children should they turn out to be of different sexes, is noted in the case of Kanjars. It is remarkable that the returns show that the proportion of children married below the age of 4 is as high among Muhammadans as Hindus. Mr. Baillie believes that the custom prevails mainly among Muhammadan sweepers; but this is not quite certain. Assuming 9 to be about the age of puberty, about 2½ per cent. of boys and 5 per cent. of girls enter the state of matrimony below that age. But it must be noted that this does not imply premature consummation: these infant marriages are probably nearly all in the families of persons of some wealth and social importance, and in such cases cohabitation is practically always postponed till puberty, when the *gauna* or bringing home of the bride takes place. Mr. Baillie goes on to remark:—"Between 10 and 14 nearly nine-tenths of the female population pass into the married state; but considerably more than one-half of the males remain unmarried. Between 15 and 19 there are 15 married females for each one unmarried, whilst at the end of the period only 60 per cent. of the males have been married. By 24 practically the whole of the female population have been married, almost the whole of those unmarried at this and later ages being women whose avocations preclude marriage, or whose physical or mental health forbids it. Of men considerably more than a fourth are unmarried up to 24, whilst an appreciable but diminishing number

remains unmarried through all subsequent age periods."[1]

Bachelors and old maids.

14. The census figures show, as might have been expected, that "the largest proportion of males who remain permanently unmarried is among Jâts, Râjputs, Brâhmans, Kâyasths, Khatris, and to a less extent among Banyas. It shows that marriage is latest for men in these castes also, while it is earliest for the low-caste cultivators, forest and hill tribes, Julâhas, Kumhârs, Telis, Dhobis, fishing castes, Chamârs, Pâsis and vagrant castes, the highest figure of all being for Kumhârs. The figures for women are in certain respects both more pronounced and more important than for men. For women, the largest numbers permanently unmarried among respectable Hindus are amongst Râjputs and Khatris. The high proportion among the former may have to do with the claim made by many of the dancing castes to be

[1] Of the Panjâb Mr. Maclagan remarks (*Report*, 255) that "the practice of child marriage among girls prevails mainly in the east of the Province. It is primarily a Hindu practice, and is found most strongly developed in the districts where Hinduism is the prevailing religion; and in the Province generally it is much more common among Hindus than among Musalmâns. But the early marriage of girls has now become a matter more of custom than of religion, and the Musalmâns in Hindu districts are nearly as much addicted to it as the Hindus, while among Hindus in Musalmân districts it is almost as rare as among the Musalmâns. In fact, the *Muklâwa* is very little in vogue among Hindus anywhere in the extreme south and west of the Province." The Bihâr returns (*Census Report*, 199,) show that "the age of Kâyasth and Brâhman girls before they find husbands to be much higher than that assigned by popular opinion. The Râjput girl marries, like the Bâbhan and the aboriginal Thâru, a little later than the Dusâdh. So do the Nuniya, Lohâr, Kurmi and Kahâr, but only on an average a month or two later. The Dhânuk girl marries earlier than females in any other large caste in this area, though a year later than girls of low caste in North-East Bihâr."

Râjputs. Why it should be so high among Khatris I have been unable to understand or imagine.[1] Banjâras and vagrant Hindu castes show proportionately much higher numbers. Amongst the Muhammadans, the higher the caste, the higher the proportion of women not married at all. Female infant marriage is most extensive amongst cultivating castes, grazing castes, forest and hill tribes, Koris, Julâhas, Kumhârs, Telis, Dhobis, Chamârs, Pâsis, sweepers, and vagrant castes. Of the whole Pâsis are easily first, Kumhârs following a close second. Widows are most numerous among Brâhmans, Râjputs, Kâyasths, Banyas, Khatris and Sayyids easily, the highest proportion being among Khatris and Brâhmans. The lowest proportion of widows is among the forest and hill tribes, and after them amongst sweepers, Pâsis, Julâhas and Chamârs, in all of which castes woman is peculiarly a helpmate to man."[2] The prenubial laxity of Dravidian girls enables the men to avoid marriage till they are well advanced in life, and desire to found homes for their old age.

Polygamy.

15. Polygamy is permitted both among Hindus and Muhammadans. As Mr. Mayne remarks[3] :—"One text of Manu seem to indicate that there was a time when a second marriage

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[1] Mr. Ibbetson shows that the difficulty of marrying among the Khâtris of the Panjab is due to the strong law of hypergamy or necessity of marrying a girl in a higher grade than her husband, which prevails among them as well as among Brâhmans and hill Râjputs (*Report*, 356). This probably explains the fact in these Provinces.

[2] *Census Report*, 255.

[3] *Hindu Law*, 77.

was only allowed to a man after the death of his former wife (V., 168; IX., 101, 102). Another set of texts lays down special grounds, which justify a husband in taking a second wife, and except for such causes it appears she could not be superseded without her consent (Manu, IX., 72—82). Other passages provide for a plurality of wives, even of different classes, without any restriction (Manu, III., 12; VIII., 204; IX., 85—87). A peculiar sanctity, however, seems to have been attributed to the first marriage . . . It is now quite settled that a Hindu is absolutely without restriction as to the number of his wives, and may marry again without his wife's consent, or any justification except his own wish." There seems no doubt that a Muhammadan may marry as many as four wives: but the question is debated by the authorities.[1] In spite of this polygamy is most infrequent. The last Census shows 11,820,598 married males to 11,873,838 married females. Similarly in the Panjâb there are 101·2 wives to 100 husbands. The proportion of husbands who have more than one wife is probably under 1 per cent.

Marriage by capture.

16. Something has already been said on the subject of marriage by capture. It may be well to consider if there are any facts which indicate that the people of Upper India in early times procured brides by force. Mr. McLennan, as we have seen, in his theory of marriage, starts with the stage of communal marriage next to polyandry, merging in the

[1] Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 402, *sqq*.

levirate. This stage attained, some tribes branched off into endogamy, some to exogamy. Exogamy was based on infanticide, and led to marriage by capture.[1] We have already seen the weakness of the evidence for the existence of a general stage of polyandry or communal marriage.

17. In describing the various forms of marriage Manu speaks of that known as RÂkshasa.:—"The seizure of a maiden by force from her house, while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in the battle, or wounded, and their houses broken open, is the marriage called RÂkshasa".[2]

18. The difficulty in examining the apparent survivals of marriage by capture lies in determining which are indications of the usual maiden modesty of the bride, her grief at leaving home and her dread at entering a new family, and which are signs of violence on the part of the bridegroom and his friends.

19. From the early literature, beyond the reference in Manu, to which reference has already been made, the traces of the custom in myth are not very numerous or clear. The myth of Urvasî probably indicates the existence of some ancient rule or taboo which prevented ordinary unrestrained intercourse between husband and wife, with the inference that possibly from capture their relations were strained.[3] In the MahÂbhÂrata the followers of Kîchika attempted to burn Draupadî with

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[1] *Primitive Marriage*, 138. Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 102, *sq.*

[2] *Institutes*, III, 33.

[3] On this see Lang, *Custom and Myth*, 65, *sqq.*

his corpse, apparently because from the fact of her capture she was assumed to have been his wife. In the same epic Bhîshma declares that the Swayamvara is the best of all modes of marriage for a Kshatriya, except one, that of carrying away the bride by force. He acquired in this way the beautiful daughters of the Râja of Kâshi as wives for his brother VichitraVîrya. In the Sûtras it was provided that at a certain vital stage in the marriage ceremony a strong man and the bridegroom should forcibly draw the bride and make her sit down on a red ox skin.[1]

20. There are numerous examples of feigned resistance to the bridegroom. Thus among the Korwas the bridegroom and his party "halt at a short distance from the bride's house, and there await her party. Presently emerges a troop of girls all singing, headed by the mother of the bride, bearing on her head a vessel of water surmounted by a lighted lamp. When they get near enough to the cavaliers they pelt them with balls of boiled rice, then coyly retreat, followed, of course, by the young men, but the girls make a stand at the door of the bride's house and suffer none to enter until they have paid toll in presents to the bridesmaid."[2] In a Gond marriage "all may be agreed] between the parties beforehand, nevertheless the bride must be abducted for the fun of the thing: but the bridegroom has only to overcome the opposition of the young lady's female friends—it is not

[1] Weber, *Indische Studian*, 325, quoted by McLennan, *Primitive Marriage*, 34, *sq*.

[2] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 223, *sq*.

etiquette for the men of her village to take any notice of the affair."[1]

21. Numerous instances of similar practices have been recorded at the present survey. Thus, among the Ghasiyas, the bride hides in a corner of the house, and the youth goes in and drags her out into the presence of the assembled clansmen. It is etiquette that she makes some resistance. Much the same custom prevails among the Bhuiyas and Bhuiyârs. The Kanjar bridegroom comes armed to the bride's house after the negociations have been settled, and demands delivery of the girl in threatening tones. Similarly the bridegroom is armed with a bow and arrow.

22. There are numerous other customs which seem to be based on the same form of symbolism. Thus, the members of the bridegroom's party are mounted on horses and armed: they, on arriving at the bride's village, do not enter her house, but halt outside; the bridegroom on reaching her door makes a feint of cutting at the arch (*toran*) with a sword: there is the invariable fiction, no matter how near the houses of the bride and bridegroom are, that she must be carried in some sort of equipage. This the Mânjhis and some other Dravidian tribes call "a boat," or *jahâz*; possibly a survival of the time when the bride was taken away by water.

23. We have then the etiquette by which the bride screams and wails as she is being carried away. When she reaches her new home she is lifted across the thresh-

[1] *Ibid*, 278, and see Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 158: Rowney, *Wild Tribes*, 37, *seq.*

old by her husband, or carried inside in a basket. This was an old custom on the Scotch border,[1] and may be as much a survival of the respect paid to the threshold as a reminiscence of marriage by capture. As she enters the door is barred by her husband's sister, who will not allow her to enter until she is propitiated with a gift.

24. We have just noticed the fiction by which a bride is supposed to be brought from a distance. This is a standing rule among the Orâons and Kurmis of Bengal,[2] and more than one example of it may be found in the present survey, as among the Nâis and Pankas. This repugnance to marriage among people residing in close communities has been taken by Dr. Westermarck to be one of the causes which have led to exogamy.[3] In this connection, the system of gang exogamy, prevalent among the gypsy Kanjars and Sânsiyas, with whom it is a rule that the bride must be selected from an encampment different from that of the bridegroom, is most significant. It is possible that here we are very close to exogamy in its most primitive form.[4]

25. In the same category are the numerous taboos of intercourse between a man and his wife and her relations. We have already noticed the legend of Urvasî. The wife must not mention her husband by name, and if he addresses her, it is in the indirect form of mother

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[1] Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Countries*, 38: *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 151.

[2] Dalton, *loc. cit*, 248, 319.

[3] *History of Human Marriage*, 321, *sq.*

[4] *Ibid*, 330, *sqq.*

of his children. Mr. Frazer has directed attention to the rule by which silence is imposed on women for some time after marriage as a relic of the custom of marrying women of a different tongue. Hence the familiar incident of the Silent Bride which runs through the whole range of folklore.[1] On the same lines is the taboo of intercourse between a man and his mother-in-law, of which Dr. Tylor, though he gives numerous instances, is unable to suggest an explanation.[2] This, also, perhaps accounts for the use of the terms "brother-in-law" (*sâlu*), "father-in-law" (*sasur*), as abusive epithets.

Runaway marriages.

26. The next form of marriage is the runaway marriage, which was dignified by the early Hindu lawgivers with the name of Gandharva, "the reciprocal connection of a youth and a damsel, with mutual desire, contracted for the purpose of amorous embraces, and proceeding from sensual inclination."[3] This prevails largely among the Dravidian tribes of the Central Indian plateau. At the periodical autumn feast the Ghasiya damsel has only to kick the youth, of whom she approves, on the ankle, and this is a signal to her relatives that the sooner the connection is legalised the better. We have the same custom in another form in the well known institution of the Bachelors' Hall among the Orâons and Bhuiyas.[4] This merges

[1] *Totemism*, 68.

[2] *Researches into Early History*, 285: and compare Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 13: Wake, *Serpent Worship*, 169: *Development of Marriage*, 330.

[3] Manu, *Institutes*, III., 32.

[4] Dalton, *loc. cit*, 142.

into the Mut'ah marriage, which is legalised among Muhammadans.

Marriage by exchange.

27. Next comes marriage by exchange, known commonly as *adala badala*, where two fathers exchange daughters in marriage between their sons. This is the simplest form of marriage by purchase.[1] The present survey has disclosed instances of this among Barhais, Bhuiyas, Dharkârs, Ghasiyas, Kanaujiyas, Moos, Musahars and Tarkihârs. It thus is in a great measure confined to the lower castes, and Mr. Ibbetson remarks[2] that in the East of the Panjâb "exchange of betrothal is thought disgraceful, and, if desired, is effected by a triangular exchange,—*A* betrothing with *B*, *B* with *C*, and *C* with *A*: in the West, on the contrary, among all classes, in the Hills and Submontane Districts, apparently among all but the highest classes, and among the Jâts, almost everywhere, except in the Jumna District, the betrothal by exchange is the commonest form."

Beena marriage.

28. The next stage is what has been called by ethnologists Beena marriage,[3] in which the bridegroom goes to the house of the bride and wins her after a period of probation as Jacob wins Rachel. In these Provinces the custom seems to be confined to the Dravidian tribes of the

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[1] Westermarck, *loc. cit*, 390.

[2] *Panjab Census Report*, 355.

[3] Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 78.

Vindhyan plateau, Bhuiyârs, Choros, Ghasiyas, Gonds, Kharwârs, Majhwârs, and Parahiyas. Among them it bears the name of *gharjanwai*, which means "the son-in-law residing in the house of the bride."

Bride purchase.

29. Immediately arising out of this is the more common form of bride purchase which prevails among most of the inferior tribes. In many cases, as will be seen by the examples which have been collected, the bride-price is fixed by tribal custom, and it marks a progressive stage in the evolution of marriage, where the purchase of the bride is veiled under the fiction of a contribution given by the relatives of the youth to cover the expenses of the marriage feast, which is, except in the *dola* or inferior form of marriage, provided by the relatives of the bride. "Let no father," says Manu,[1] "who knows the law, receive a gratuity, however small, for giving his daughter in marriage: since the man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity for that purpose, is a seller of his offspring."

Marriage with dowry.

30. The last stage is when the relatives of the bride provide a dowry for the bride, which is the subject of careful negotiation, and is paid over in the presence of the tribesmen when the wife lives with her husband.

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[1] *Institutes*, III., 15.

31. In all these forms of marriage the ceremony of *Confarreatio*, or the feeding of the married pair by the relatives on both sides, takes an important place. We have seen that it is the main rite in widow marriage. It is regulated by rigid rules of etiquette, one of the chief of which is that both bride and bridegroom must at first refuse the proferred food, and accept it only after much pressure and conciliation by gifts.

Confarreatio.

32. According to Baudhayana "there is a dispute regarding five practices both in the South and in the North. Those peculiar to the South are to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt. He who follows these in any other country than the one where they prevail commits sin."[1] There is some want of moral perspective in the classification of these prohibitions: but they chiefly concern us in connection with the matriarchal theory. The prohibition of marriage with a cousin on the mother's side has been accepted as an indication of the uncertainty of male parentage. There can be no doubt that in Northern India there is some special connection between a boy and his maternal uncle, as is shown by many instances drawn from the usages of the inferior tribes, such as the Agariya, Majhwâr and other Dravidian races. We also find among the Doms and Dharkârs that it is the

The Matriarchate.

[1] Bühler, *Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, Part I., Intro L.

sister's son who performs the duties of priest at the cremation and worship of the sainted dead, which follows it. He is not, however, regarded as an heir to the deceased to the exclusion of his sons. Similarly though a foster-child has no rights to succeed,[1] the relationship is universally recognised as a bar to intermarriage. There is thus some evidence for some of the tests of female kinship as laid down by Professor Robertson Smith.[2]

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[1] Mayne, *Hindu Law*, 117.

[2] *Kinship in Arabia*, 143, 154, 155, 159, 165.

GENERAL DISTRICT STATISTICS.

District.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Density per square mile.	Religions of the people.											
				Hindu.	Musalman.	Jain.	Christian.	Arya.	Sikh.	Buddhist.	Parsi.	Jew.	Brahmo.	Deist.	Unspecified.
Dehra Dûn . .	1192·9	168,135	140·9	143,718	19,896	234	2,743	784	755	2	3	...	...	..	...
Sahâranpur . .	2242·0	1,001,280	446·5	667,494	324,432	6,084	1,974	496	792	...	8	...	...	...	...
Muzaffarnagar .	1658·2	772,874	466·1	542,563	218,990	9,396	127	1,032	766	...	...	...	...	...	...
Meerut . .	2369·7	1,391,458	587·2	1,047,650	316,971	16,380	5,435	2,784	2,237	...	1	...	...	...	...
Bulandshahr .	1911·1	949,914	497·0	764,937	179,019	1,284	210	4,430	34	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aligarh . .	1952·4	1,043,172	534·3	918,730	120,338	2,507	465	992	126	...	14	...	...	...	...
Mathura . .	1440·6	713,421	495·2	646,385	62,657	2,403	846	209	919	...	2	...	...	...	...
Agra . . .	1845·5	103,796	543·9	879,319	104,443	13,462	4,758	989	540	254	41	...	...	...	...
Farukhabad .	1720·3	858,687	499·1	756,194	99,476	1,048	828	877	24	232	8	...	...	...	...
Mainpuri . .	1700·9	762,163	448·0	714,294	41,529	5,760	132	326	122	...	...	...	...	...	...
Etâwah . .	1691·2	727,629	430·3	682,863	42,325	2,117	134	169	19	...	2	...	...	...	...
Etah . .	1740·7	702,063	403·3	622,833	72,953	4,945	520	764	43	...	4	...	...	..	1

Bareilly . .	1894·6	1,040,691	552·6	789,608	245,089	4	5,271	351	300	111	12	...	...	...	...
Bijnor . .	1899·4	794,070	418·2	521,891	267,163	998	908	2,046	1,065	...	...	...	...	...	...
Budaun . .	2016·5	925,596	459·0	733,179	148,289	229	2,581	1,215	105	...	...	...	...	...	...
Moradábád . .	2282·5	1,179,296	516·7	773,001	400,705	1,062	3,207	1,305	75	...	3	...	...	...	...
Shâhjahânpur .	1744·1	918,551	526·6	787,126	129,266	96	1,228	640	144	...	1	...	...	...	...
Pilibhit . .	1871·7	485,366	259·3	402,120	82,486	11	365	288	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cawnpur . .	2363·2	1,209,695	511·9	1,103,990	101,541	415	2,036	620	52	...	32	3	6	...	...
Fatehpur . .	1633·1	699,157	428·1	621,923	77,961	88	71	15	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Banda . .	3060·1	705,832	230·6	664,679	40,662	284	74	76	49	2	...	...	...	...	6
Hamirpur . .	2288·7	513,720	224·4	480,215	33,281	107	80	37	11	...	19	...	...	...	...
Allahábád . .	2853·2	1,548,737	542·6	1,341,964	199,353	566	5,963	...	155	268	25	1	...	...	...
Jhánsi . .	1640·0	409,419	249·6	380,804	28,067	2,521	1,877	131	946	...	66	4	2	...	1
Jalaun . .	1479·6	396,361	267·9	370,604	25,501	165	67	12	5	...	4	...	...	...	...
Lalitpur . .	1947·4	274,200	140·8	268,595	5,946	9,546	63	...	49	...	...	...	...	...	1
Benares . .	1009·5	921,943	913·7	831,730	88,401	138	1,264	...	52	255	1	2	...	...	...
Mirzapur . .	5223·0	1,161,506	222·4	4,065,232	75,240	281	465	102	188	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jaunpur . .	1549·8	1,264,949	816·0	1,148,505	116,244	6	93	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ghâzipur . .	1462·0	1,077,909	737·3	974,240	102,726	27	576	86	150	...	...	4	...	...	...

GENERAL DISTRICT STATISTICS—*concluded.*

District.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Density per square mile.	Religions of the people.											
				Hindu.	Musalman.	Jain.	Christian.	Arya.	Sikh.	Buddhist.	Parsi.	Jew.	Brahmo.	Deist.	Unspecified.
Ballia . .	1169·7	942,465	805·7	876,095	66,353	...	15	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Gorakhpur . .	4576·1	2,994,057	654·3	2,691,164	3,01,630	44	1,176	...	2	...	19	21	...	...	1
Basti . . .	2767·0	1,785,844	645·1	1,509,989	2,75,729	...	66	60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kumaun . .	2148·3	1,728,625	804·6	1,502,211	2,25,639	...	74	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Azamgarh . .	7151·0	563,181	78·8	549,572	11,969	5	1,601	...	...	34	...	...	...	...	...
Garhwal . .	5629·0	407,818	72·4	403,603	3,605	2	573	2	...	33	...	...	...	...	...
Tarái . . .	963·7	210,568	218·7	135,160	75,207	39	23	130	9	..	...	...	...	...	...
Lucknow . .	967·0	774,163	800·6	605,625	1,61,369	797	5,769	553	379	193	66	...	...	...	12
Unao . .	1778·0	953,636	536·4	877,451	73,920	8	106	123	28	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rái Bareli . .	1751·2	1,036,521	591·7	950,290	85,965	23	145	2	96	...	...	...	6	...	...
Sitapur . .	2254·9	1,075,413	476·9	916,680	1,57,639	234	717	88	44	1	4	...	...	...	...
Hardoi . .	2234·5	1,113,211	478·9	998,339	1,14,674	13	167	...	16	2	...	...	...	...	...

Kheri . . .	2964·8	903,615	304·7	784,855	113,057	10	505	132	56	...	...	...	...	...	...
Faizábád . .	1728·1	1,216,959	703·7	1,076,831	138,461	161	1,254	55	171	...	4	22	...	...	...
Gonda . .	2379·9	1,459,229	506·6	1,253,514	205,425	...	248	...	42	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bahráich . .	2680·8	1,000,432	373·2	829,701	169,798	48	124	87	721	...	...	8	...	...	...
Sultánpur . .	1709·9	1,075,851	629·2	958,952	116,846	...	53	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Partábgarh . .	1438·2	910,895	633·4	819,835	90,838	130	77	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bárabanki . .	1740·2	1,130,906	649·9	943,740	185,338	1,043	147	...	35	...	...	...	...	3	...
TOTAL .	107302·8	46,905,085	436·4	40,380,168	6,346,651	84,601	58,441	22,053	11,343	1,387	342	60	14	3	22

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND ANTHROPOMETRICAL DATA.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Number.	Caste.	Name.	Residence.	Occupation.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Nasal Width.	Nasal Height.	Facial Angle (Cuvier).
1	Agariya .	Musai . .	Billi Bari, Mirzapur	Iron smelting .	1610	800	1690	244	107	57	540	340	340	212	187	135	109	130	41	50	65
2	Baheliya .	Thakuri . .	Mirzapur . .	Shikari . .	1700	840	1760	250	113	63	550	330	330	193	185	136	108	134	38	56	73
,,	,, .	Prayág . .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	1710	860	1800	252	110	57	540	340	340	216	187	135	105	132	36	57	70
3	Bairági .	Baldeo Dás .	Niraon, Mirzapur .	Begging . .	1630	810	1669	250	110	62	560	360	360	196	190	145	107	134	32	56	64
4	Baiswar .	Bageśari Lál .	Chatarwar, Mirzapur	Agriculture .	1670	860	1710	263	114	64	540	330	330	215	192	135	109	138	40	59	67
,,	,, .	Deo Náráyan .	Ditto . .	Ditto .	1650	870	1670	259	117	61	550	350	350	209	192	137	104	130	35	60	71
,,	,, .	Mohan . .	Ditto . .	Ditto .	1600	810	1640	260	110	62	540	340	340	205	180	137	103	132	33	54	75
,,	,, .	Mithai Lál .	Ditto . .	Ditto .	1590	820	1590	244	111	57	560	350	340	218	194	136	107	124	37	57	70
5	Banya .	Girdhári . .	Robertsganj, Mirzapur.	Grain-dealer .	1690	850	1770	249	115	62	550	350	350	214	195	139	108	135	35	61	68
86	Bhotiya .	...	...	...	Not measured.																

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND ANTHROPOMETRICAL DATA—*continued.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Number.	Caste.	Name.	Residence.	Occupation.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Frontal Minimum Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Nasal Width.	Nasal Height.	Facial Angle (Cuvier).
7	Bhuiyár .	Raghunandan .	Arjhat, Mirzapur .	Wood-cutter and ploughman.	1610	800	1660	249	109	56	530	330	340	199	179	132	113	128	38	50	70
8	Bind .	Ramphal . .	Robertsganj, Mirzapur.	Ploughman .	1690	840	1760	268	117	54	560	350	360	213	190	144	110	142	37	56	70
9	Biyár .	Bhuar . .	Sajaur, Mirzapur .	Ditto .	1620	820	1700	239	106	57	560	350	340	187	192	140	115	135	35	52	60
,,	,, .	Raghu . .	Ghuas, Mirzapur .	Ditto .	1520	780	1580	231	103	56	530	330	320	190	184	132	107	123	32	54	58
10	Chamár .	Mekhuri . .	Gothani, Mirzapur .	Shoemaker and ploughman.	1630	810	1660	229	108	67	540	330	330	202	185	133	107	137	30	53	60
,,	,, .	Nathua (child) .	Ditto . .	Ditto .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Chero .	Chhandu . .	Birar, Mirzapur .	Wood-cutter and ploughman.	1590	800	1630	246	108	59	540	340	350	200	186	139	114	140	37	54	60
,,	,, .	Faujdár . .	Katauli, Mirzapur .	Ditto .	1650	830	1770	245	114	62	550	350	350	217	188	136	105	132	36	55	63

,,	,,	Muniya (female)	Salkhan, Mirzapur	Wood-cutter and field-labour.	1490	720	1460	227	108	58	560	360	350	214	191	135	107	127	36	49	69
,,	,,	Katwâru (female)	Ditto	Ditto	1560	770	1560	229	105	66	540	340	330	200	187	132	108	123	35	53	62
,,	,,	Mangaru	Ditto	Ditto	1600	880	1600	233	104	63	550	340	340	209	183	131	108	128	35	55	66
12	Dhângar	Beni	Bardiha, Mirzapur	Field-labour and basket-making	1710	850	1800	245	115	59	560	360	350	206	195	138	114	140	35	53	66
,,	,,	Dukhi	Ditto	Ditto	1560	800	1540	239	102	65	530	330	340	214	182	135	107	132	40	54	67
,,	,,	Har Lâl	Ditto	Ditto	1700	820	1760	245	110	63	550	350	340	206	189	134	110	135	36	55	68
,,	,,	Râj Kali (female)	Ditto	Ditto	1530	760	1580	230	106	66	530	340	350	206	175	129	102	125	35	54	70
,,	,,	Sugiya (female)	Ditto	Ditto	1400	650	1400	210	96	59	520	320	320	186	181	131	100	122	31	52	69
	,,	Child	Ditto	Ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	Dharkâr	Dipu	Robertsganj, Mirzapur.	Basket-making	1560	790	1610	229	108	54	540	350	340	199	181	143	112	129	36	53	65
,,	,,	Ekadasiya (female)	Ditto	Ditto	1500	770	1520	224	104	53	530	330	340	190	178	128	100	123	35	52	63
14	Dom	Dwârika	Ditto	Working in bamboo.	1710	850	1730	260	115	60	550	340	340	209	189	134	110	137	38	55	68
,,	,,	Bhagwanti (female).	Ditto	Ditto	1600	810	1620	236	112	58	560	360	360	206	186	139	110	132	37	58	61
15	Ghasiya	Baghola	Katauli, Mirzapur	Ploughman and wood-cutter.	1670	850	1620	256	114	65	540	340	350	215	189	131	105	130	42	58	61
16	Gond	Buddhu	Sanjaur, Mirzapur	Ditto	1620	810	1730	249	111	58	530	330	330	205	177	142	111	133	31	58	68
17	Jalâli	Amir Ali Shâh	Mirzapur	Beggar	1670	860	1630	250	112	60	570	360	360	201	195	134	112	132	35	49	72
18	Kol	Machhal	Chirahuli, Mirzapur	Ploughman	1640	810	1760	251	112	59	540	330	330	213	182	130	105	129	33	49	65

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Number.	Caste.	Name.	Residence.	Occupation.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Nasal Width.	Nasal Height.	Facial Angle (Cuvier).
18	Kol .	Bhondu . .	Sahijan, Mirzapur .	Ploughman .	1720	850	1790	264	116	64	560	360	350	221	195	140	103	133	38	51	71
„	„ .	Biranjiya (female)	Ditto .	Ditto .	1540	790	1490	232	100	54	550	340	340	190	187	129	106	124	38	57	76
19	Korwa .	Kariman . .	Bisrámpur, Mirzapur	Ditto .	1530	820	1560	245	110	60	540	330	340	209	186	134	110	135	42	51	69
20	„ .	Bodhu . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	1640	820	1720	259	118	67	550	350	350	218	190	134	102	132	41	52	64
„	„ .	Chhotu . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	1580	790	1630	252	117	60	540	340	330	213	185	133	109	130	35	51	63
21	Kumhár .	Sarnám . .	Robertsganj, Mirzapur.	Potter . .	1570	820	1580	242	105	61	530	340	340	202	183	127	99	128	37	54	63
22	Mahábráhman.	Murlidhar . .	Kusumha, Mirzapur	Funeral priest	1620	820	1630	243	107	66	570	360	360	200	194	140	115	136	32	56	68
„	„ .	Baban . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	1540	790	1540	225	100	56	550	350	350	201	189	134	112	125	31	50	65
23	Mallah .	Makholi . .	Kota, Mirzapur .	Boatman and fisherman.	1570	810	1680	252	114	59	520	330	340	204	175	132	114	130	35	50	67
„	„ .	Mangaru . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	1640	860	1680	251	114	60	560	360	350	219	193	133	107	131	35	56	64

Harassowitz, from whom the set came, reports as follows:-

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND ANTHROPOMETRICAL DATA—*continued.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Number.	Caste.	Name.	Residence.	Occupation.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Nasal Width.	Nasal Height.	Facial Angle (Cuvier).
7	Bhuiyâr .	Raghunandan .	Arjhat, Mirzapur .	Wood-cutter and ploughman.	1610	800	1660	249	109	56	530	330	340	199	179	132	113	128	38	50	70
8	Bind .	Ramphal . .	Robertsganj, Mirzapur.	Ploughman .	1690	840	1760	268	117	54	560	350	360	213	190	144	110	142	37	56	70
9	Biyâr .	Bhuar . .	Sajaur, Mirzapur .	Ditto .	1620	820	1700	239	106	57	560	350	340	187	192	140	115	135	35	52	60
,,	,, .	Raghu . .	Ghuas, Mirzapur .	Ditto .	1520	780	1580	231	103	56	530	330	320	190	184	132	107	123	32	54	58
10	Chamâr .	Mekhuri . .	Gothani, Mirzapur .	Shoemaker and ploughman.	1630	810	1660	229	108	67	540	330	330	202	185	133	107	137	30	53	60
,,	,, .	Nathua (child) .	Ditto . .	Ditto .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Chero .	Chhandu . .	Birar, Mirzapur .	Wood-cutter and ploughman.	1590	800	1630	246	108	59	540	340	350	200	186	139	114	140	37	54	60
,,	,, .	Faujdâr . .	Katauli, Mirzapur .	Ditto .	1650	830	1770	245	114	62	550	350	350	217	188	136	105	132	36	55	63

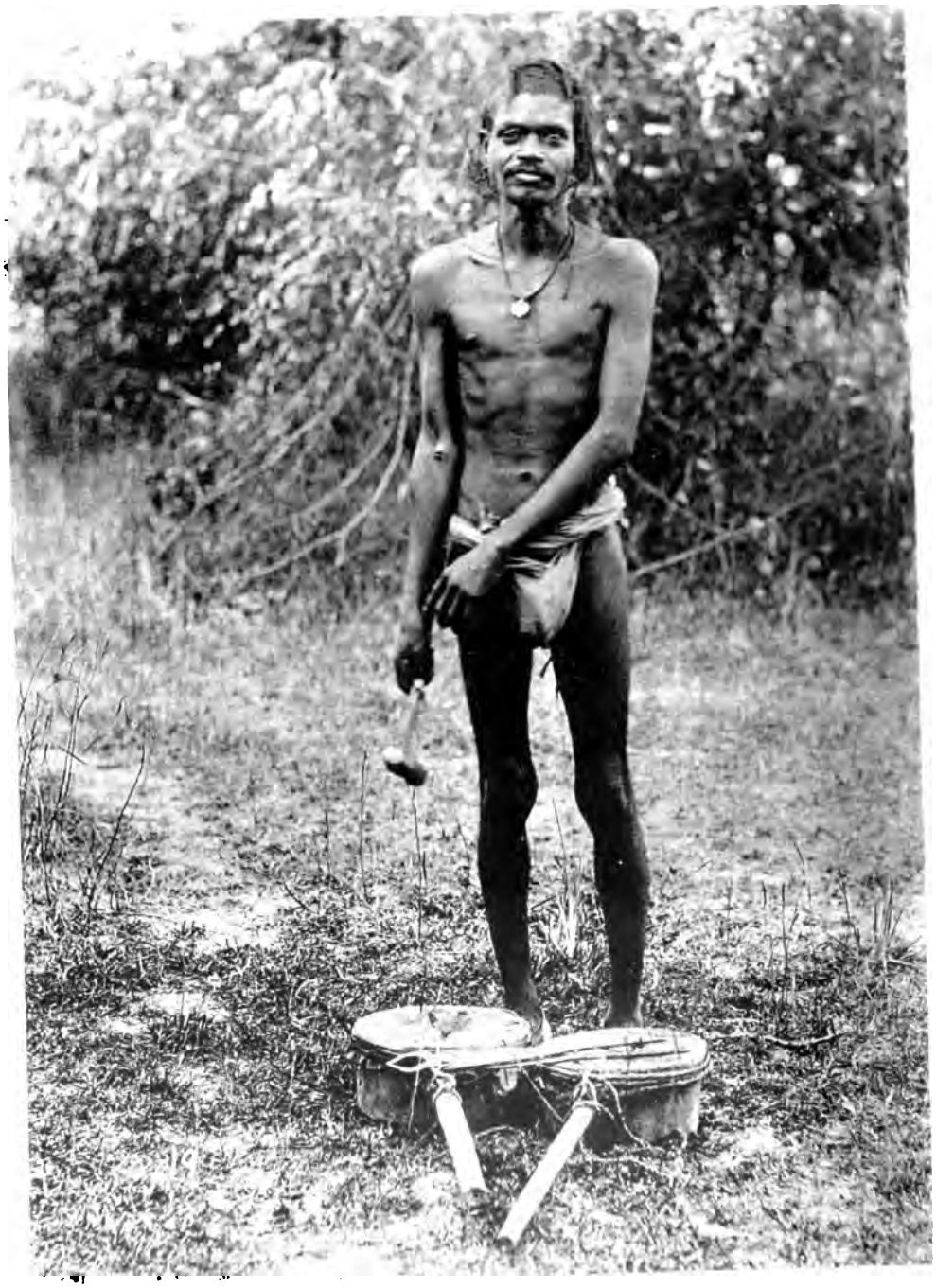
✓ ,,	,, .	Muniya (female) .	Salkhan, Mirzapur .	Wood-cutter and field-labour.	1490	720	1460	237	108	58	560	360	350	214	191	135	107	127	36	49	69
✓ ,,	,, .	Katwâru (female)	Ditto . .	Ditto .	1560	770	1560	229	105	66	540	340	330	200	187	132	108	123	35	53	62
✓ ,,	,, .	Mangaru . .	Ditto . .	Ditto .	1600	880	1600	233	104	63	550	340	340	209	188	131	108	128	35	55	66
✓ 12	Dhângar .	Beni . . .	Bardiha, Mirzapur .	Field-labour and basket-making	1710	850	1800	245	115	59	560	360	350	206	195	138	114	140	35	53	66
✓ ,,	,, .	Dukhi . .	Ditto . .	Ditto .	1560	800	1540	239	102	65	530	330	340	214	182	135	107	132	40	54	67
✓ ,,	,, .	Har Lâl . .	Ditto . .	Ditto .	1700	820	1760	245	110	63	550	350	340	206	189	134	110	135	36	55	68
✓ ,,	,, .	Râj Kali (female)	Ditto . .	Ditto .	1530	760	1580	230	106	66	530	340	350	206	175	129	102	125	35	54	70
✓ ,,	,, .	Sugiya (female) .	Ditto . .	Ditto .	1400	650	1400	210	96	59	520	320	320	186	181	131	100	122	31	52	69
.	,, .	Child . . .	Ditto . .	Ditto .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
✓ 13	Dharkâr .	Dipu . . .	Robertsganj, Mirzapur.	Basket-making	1560	790	1610	229	108	54	540	350	340	199	181	143	112	129	36	53	65
✓ ,,	,, .	Ekadasiya (female)	Ditto . .	Ditto .	1500	770	1520	224	104	53	530	330	340	190	178	128	100	123	35	52	63
✓ 14	Dom .	Dwârika . .	Ditto . .	Working in bamboo.	1710	850	1730	260	115	60	550	340	340	209	189	134	110	137	38	55	68
✓ ,,	,, .	Bhagwanti (female).	Ditto .	Ditto .	1600	810	1620	236	112	58	560	360	360	206	186	139	110	132	37	53	61
✓ 15	Ghasiya .	Baghola . .	Katauli, Mirzapur .	Ploughman and wood-cutter.	1670	850	1620	256	114	65	540	340	350	215	189	131	105	130	42	58	61
✓ 16	Gond .	Buddhu . .	Sanjaur, Mirzapur .	Ditto .	1620	810	1730	249	111	58	530	330	330	205	177	142	111	133	31	58	68
✓ 17	Jalâli .	Amir Ali Shâh .	Mirzapur . .	Beggar .	1670	860	1680	250	112	60	570	360	360	201	195	134	112	132	35	49	72
✓ 18	Kol .	Machhal . .	Chirahuli, Mirzapur	Ploughman .	1640	810	1760	251	112	59	540	330	330	213	182	130	105	129	33	49	65

A XCC

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND ANTHROPOMETRICAL DATA—*concluded.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Number.	Caste.	Name.	Residence.	Occupation.	Height of Vertex.	Height of Trunk.	Span.	Left Foot.	Left Middle Finger.	Right Ear Height.	Round Head.	Inion to Glabella.	Tragus to Tragus.	Vertex to Chin.	Anteroposterior Diameter.	Maximum Transverse Diameter.	Minimum Frontal Diameter.	Bizygomatic Diameter.	Nasal Width.	Nasal Height.	Facial Angle (Cuvier).
18	Kol .	Bhondu . .	Sahijan, Mirzapur .	Ploughman .	1720	850	1790	264	116	64	560	360	350	221	195	140	103	133	38	51	71
„	„ .	Biranjiya (female)	Ditto .	Ditto .	1540	790	1490	232	100	54	550	340	340	190	187	129	106	124	38	57	76
19	Korwa .	Kariman . .	Bisrâmpur, Mirzapur	Ditto .	1530	820	1560	245	110	60	540	330	340	209	186	134	110	135	42	51	69
20	„ .	Bodhu . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	1640	820	1720	259	118	67	550	350	350	218	190	134	102	132	41	52	64
„	„ .	Chhotu . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	1580	790	1630	252	117	60	540	340	330	213	185	133	109	130	35	51	62
21	Kumhâr .	Sarnâm . .	Robertsganj, Mirzapur.	Potter . .	1570	820	1580	242	105	61	530	340	340	202	183	127	99	128	37	54	62
22	Mahâbrâhman.	Murlidhar . .	Kusumha, Mirzapur	Funeral priest	1620	820	1630	243	107	66	570	360	360	200	194	140	115	136	32	56	68
„	„ .	Baban . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	1540	790	1540	225	100	56	550	350	350	201	189	134	112	125	31	50	65
23	Mallâh .	Makholi . .	Kota, Mirzapur .	Boatman and fisherman.	1570	810	1680	252	114	59	520	330	340	204	175	132	114	130	35	50	67
„	„ .	Mangaru . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	1640	860	1680	251	114	60	560	360	350	219	193	133	107	131	35	56	64

associtz, from whom the set came, reports as follows:- "It is indeed a curious fact that [illegible]



ACARIYA.

THE

TRIBES AND CASTES

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

VOLUME I.

A

Abhyâgat.—(Sans. "*Abhyâgata*," "a guest," "a visitor") is hardly a special sect. It is referred generally to mendicants and Brâhmans who live by begging. It is practically synonymous with Atît (*q.v.*). Some live a solitary life, others associate in monasteries (*math*) under an abbot (*mahant*).

Agariya.[1]—A Dravidian tribe found in scanty numbers only in the hilly parts of Mirzápur south of the Son, where, according to the last Census, they number 481 males and 457 females, in all 938 souls. The Mirzápur Agariyas confined themselves almost entirely to mining and smelting iron. They are certainly quite a different people from those described by Colonel Dalton and Mr. Risley in Chota Nâgpur,[2] who claim to be Kshatriya immigrants from the neighbourhood of Agra and live by cultivation. The Mirzápur Agariyas seem to be almost certainly of non-Aryan origin. A tribe of the same name and occupation in the Mandla District of the Central Provinces is described as a sub-division of the Gonds and among the laziest and most drunken of that race.[3] Colonel Dalton and Mr. Risley again describe a people of the same name as a sub-division of the Korwas, who are undoubtedly Dravidians.[4] It is with these people that the Mirzápur tribe are almost certainly connected.

Appearance.

2. In appearance the Agariyas approximate very closely to allied Dravidian tribes, such as the Korwas, Parahiyas, etc., but they have a particularly

[1] Based on enquiries in Parganas Dudhi and Agori of Mirzápur.
[2] *Ethnology*, 322. *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I., 5.
[3] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 278 *sq.*
[4] *Ethnology*, 321. *Tribes and Castes*, I., 4.

gaunt appearance and worn expression of countenance, which is undoubtedly the result of the severe occupation which they follow.

Tribal organization.

3. Those in Mirzápur have seven exogamous septs all of totemistic origin. The Markâm is also a sept of the Mânjhis (*q.v.*, paragraph 3). The word means "a tortoise," which the members of this sept will neither kill nor eat. The Goirâr take their name from a tree so called, which the members of this sept will not cut. The Paraswân take their name from the *palâsa* tree (*Butea frondosa*), and members of this sept will not cut the tree or eat out of platters (*dauna*) made of its leaves. The Sanwân say that they take their name from *san* or hemp, which they will not sow or use. The Baragwâr are named from the *bar* tree (*Ficus Indica*), from the leaves of which they will not eat, and which they will not cut or climb.[1] Banjhakwâr, the name of the fifth sub-division, is said to be a corruption of Bengachwâr from *beng*, "a frog," which the members of this sept will not kill or eat. The Gidhlê, which is also the name of a sept of the Bengal Orâons,[2] will not kill or even throw a stone at a vulture (*Gidh*). The Census returns give the chief sept as Bâjutheb, which was not recorded by the members of the tribe examined on the spot.

Tribal council.

4. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) at which all adult males attend. The meetings, in default of any specially urgent business, assemble when the members meet on the occasion of marriages or deaths. The members are summoned by the President of the council (*mahto*), who circulates a root of turmeric among them. The council deals with caste matters, such as adultery, fornication, and the like. The orders are enforced in the usual way (see *Mânjhi*, paragraph 9). The office of President is permanent and hereditary. If the incumbent happens to be a minor he can select another clansman to act for him until he becomes competent to fill the post.

Rules of exogamy.

5. The only rule of exogamy is that no one may marry within his sept (*kuri*). This obviously admits of very close marriage connections, but it is not supplemented by the usual formula which prohibits marriage in the

[1] These are perhaps analogous to the Barar sub-division of the Urâons, which have the same totemistic respect for the *bar* tree. Dalton, *Ethnology*, 254.

[2] Dalton, *loc. cit.*

family of both the paternal and maternal uncles and paternal and maternal aunts. It is, in fact, admitted on all sides that a man may marry the daughter of his paternal uncle. It is essential that the bridegroom must not be engaged in any degrading labour, such as shoe-making or groom's work. There is no restriction as to place of origin or family worship, but he must nominally conform to the tribal religion.

Traditions of origin.

6. The Mirzápur Agariyas say that some five or six generations ago they emigrated from Rîwa, hearing that they could carry on their business in peace in British territory. Their first settlement was in the village of Khairahi in Pargana Dudhi. Their head-quarters in Rîwa are at the village of Rijaura; they do not make any pilgrimages to their original settlements or draw their priests or tribal officials from there.

Marriage.

7. The bride is purchased and her price by tribal custom is fixed at ten rupees. Polygamy is permitted, and an Agariya may have as many wives as he can afford to purchase and maintain. The senior wife (*Jethi Mehrâru*) is head of the household; she joins her husband in the family worship and she receives a degree of respect among the clansmen at marriages, etc., which is denied to the junior wives. If there are more wives than one they live in the same house, but in separate huts. Concubinage with women who are not members of the tribe and polyandry are prohibited. The women enjoy a considerable amount of liberty both before and after marriage. If an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue with a clansman, her father can get her married to her lover on paying a tribal fine of ten rupees and providing a feast for the clansmen to the amount of one goat and the necessary quantity of rice. If she offends with a stranger she is permanently expelled.

Marriage ceremonies.

8. The age for marrying girls is between five and ten, and the parents are disgraced if they do not marry their daughters at an early age. The boy's maternal uncle (*mâmu*) arranges the marriage.[1] There are no professional marriage brokers. The consent of the parents on both sides is essential, and the parties have no freedom of choice. When the preliminaries are arranged, the boy's father sends to the girl's

[1] For the position of the maternal uncle among the allied Gond tribes see *Mânjhi*, para. 14.

father ten rupees and two loin cloths (*dhoti*). This is the invariable rate whatever the means of the parties may be. None of this becomes the property of the bride and bridegroom, except one of the loin cloths which is given to the bride; but her father is expected to spend the cash received on the marriage feast. No physical defects are a bar to marriage, and if after marriage the bridegroom discovers any defect in the bride he must take her home. But this very seldom happens because the relatives on both sides take care to inspect the bride and bridegroom before the preliminaries are arranged. The betrothal consists in the approval of the bride by the boy's maternal uncle and his acceptance of a dinner from the father of the girl. After this the wedding day is fixed. Their marriages usually take place in the light half of the month of Mâgh (January-February). Five days before the wedding day, the *matmâṅgar* ceremony is performed in the usual way. On the marriage day the bridegroom comes with his procession to the house of the bride. They are put up in a place (*Janwâṅsa*) arranged for their reception. On that day it is not the custom for the father of the bride to entertain the party. Next morning the bridegroom comes with his friends to the bride's house, and going into the inner chamber, where she is hiding, drags her out into the courtyard. This, and the rule of not entertaining the friends of the bridegroom before the marriage, are obvious survivals of marriage by capture. In the courtyard is fixed up a sort of pavilion (*mânro*), in the centre of which is planted a branch of the sâl tree (*Shorea robusta*). The sâl is the sacred tree of many of the Dravidian races, and its use at marriages seems to imply that tree marriage was the original custom. Round this the pair walk five times, and then the bride's father makes a mark with turmeric on the foreheads of both, and warns them to live in unity. After this the clansmen are fed, and the bride is sent home with her husband. When she arrives at the door of her husband's house his sister (*nanad*) bars the entrance, and will not admit the bride until the bridegroom gives her a couple of pice. After this the bridegroom's father feeds his clansmen, who return home next day. Before they enter their new home there is a sort of *confarreatio* ceremony when the pair have to sit down outside and eat together. The essential part of this marriage ceremony, which is known as *charhawa*, because the bride is offered (*charhâna*) to the bridegroom, is the payment of the bride price and the marking of the foreheads of the pair by the father of the bride.

Divorce.

9. There is no real divorce: merely expulsion of the faithless wife from hearth and home. The only ground for expulsion is proof of the wife's adultery to the satisfaction of the clansmen. In fact, it is understood that no proof short of her being caught in the act of adultery will be sufficient. If a woman is put away for adultery, she cannot be remarried in the tribe. Concubinage with strange women is forbidden. All the sons of all the wives rank and share equally. If a woman has a child by a man of another tribe, he is not received into the caste, cannot be married in the tribe, and the clansmen will not eat with him.

Widow Marriage.

10. Widow marriage in the *Sagâi* form is allowed. When a man proposes to marry a widow, he can do so with the consent of the head of the family. Both parties give a tribal dinner, and the man rubs some oil on the woman's head and some red lead on the parting of her hair, and brings her home. When he brings her home he has to entertain the clansmen. The levirate is permitted, with the usual restriction that it is only the younger brother of her late husband who is entitled to claim her. It is only on his renouncing his right to her that she can marry an outsider. If she have children by her first husband, they do not accompany her to her new home, but remain with their father's brother. The widow, on re-marriage, has no rights to her first husband's property. If the children are very young, the uncle, who maintains them, gets half their property as his remuneration. In the same way if their uncle does not care to look after them, and they go to their step-father, he receives half their inheritance, and in this case the children are considered to be his own.

Adoption.

11. Adoption is permitted to a sonless man or one whose son is permanently expelled from caste; but there is no idea of religious merit in adoption. The son adopted must be of the sept (*kuri*) of the adopter, and is in most cases a brother's son. Having once adopted he cannot adopt again as long as the adopted son is alive. A bachelor, an ascetic, or a blind man cannot adopt, nor can a married woman without the leave of her husband, and under no circumstances has the widow this power. A man may give his eldest, but not his only son, in adoption to another. There is no condition of age in the boy to be adopted. Girls cannot be adopted. The adopt-

ed son is not excluded from succeeding to his natural father, and will do so if he have no other son. If a natural son be born after adoption, both share equally in the estate.

These are the rules as stated in a meeting of the caste, but they obviously represent the influence of their Hindu neighbours. It is very doubtful if the real Agariyas have any idea of adoption.

Succession.

12. The rules of succession are very similar to those of the Mânjhis (*q. v.*). When a man dies leaving a widow or widows, a son or sons, a daughter or daughters, brothers or other relatives, the sons alone inherit, and primogeniture is so far observed that the eldest son gets one animal or article, an ox, a brass pot, etc., in excess of the others. The sons take their shares *per capita*. When a man leaves only a sonless widow, his brothers inherit with the obligation of maintaining the widow for her lifetime or until she marries again. She can be expelled for unchastity. Stepsons inherit only the amount of their father's property which their step-father may have received, but he is bound to support and marry them. Many of the elaborate rules which the tribe pretend to observe are derived from Hindu practice; and it is obvious that it is seldom difficult for an Agariya to dispose of his simple property.

Relationship.

13. The relations of the husband are regarded as relations of the wife, and *vice versâ*. The scheme of relationship agrees with that of the Kols (*q. v.*).

Birth ceremonies.

14. There are no ceremonies during pregnancy. Contrary to ordinary Hindu custom the woman lies on a bed facing east during delivery. She is attended during seclusion by the Chamâin midwife, who cuts the cord and buries it outside under the eaves of the house. The mother is dosed with a decoction of dill (*ajwâin*), and gets in the evening a mess of boiled *sâwân*, millet and *konhrauri* or balls made of *urad* pulse, and cucumber (*konhra*). On the sixth day the clothes of the mother and all the household are washed by one of them. They do not employ a Dhobi which, as the birth pollution is much dreaded, marks a very low stage of ceremonial purity. On the same day mother and child are bathed by the midwife, who gets a loin cloth (*dhoti*) as her fee. The mother then cooks for the family and a few of the neighbouring clansmen. On the same day the delivery room (*saur*) is cleaned and replastered by the sister of the husband (*nanad*), who receives a fee of four annas for her trouble. On the twelfth day the clansmen and their wives who live in the neighbourhood are fed.

Couvade.

15. The husband is allowed to do no work on the day his wife is delivered, and has to take the first sip of the cleansing draught which is given her after delivery. He does not cohabit with his wife for a month after her confinement.

Puberty ceremonies.

16. There is no regular ceremony on arrival at puberty. The only rite in the nature of initiation is the ear-boring, which is done both for boys and girls in the fifth year. Up to this they may eat from the hands of a person of any caste. After this ceremony they must conform to tribal usage.

Death ceremonies.

17. The dead, except young children and those dying of small-pox, are cremated in the jungle. This is done very carelessly, and in times of epidemic disease the corpses are merely exposed in the jungle to be eaten by wild animals. The corpse is laid face upwards on the pyre with the feet to the south. The nearest kinsman moves five times round the pyre and touches the face of the corpse five times with a straw torch. As soon as the pyre blazes all go and bathe. Then they fill their vessels (*lota*) with water and return to the house of the deceased, where each pours the water he has brought in the court-yard. No fire is lit and no cooking done in the house that day. The food is cooked at the house of the brother-in-law (*bahnoi*) of the dead man. On the tenth day the clansmen assemble at some running water, and then go and eat at the house of the deceased. The bones which remain after cremation are thrown into the nearest running stream. They are not buried, and subsequently, when convenient, conveyed to the Ganges, as is the custom with the similarly named tribe in Chota Nâgpur. [1]

Ancestor worship.

18. On the day of the Phagua (*Holi*) they feed a fowl with gram and kill it in the name of the sainted dead. But they recognise no deceased ancestor beyond their father and mother, in whose name after the sacrifice they pour a little water on the ground. Only the members of the family eat the flesh of the victim. They do not employ Brâhmans at funerals; they have no Srâddha, and the sister's son has no special functions on this occasion.

[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 4.

19. They call themselves Hindus, but worship none of the regular Hindu deities. In the month of Aghan they get the Baiga to worship the village gods (*dih*). The offering consists of five fowls and a goat. The Baiga chops off the heads of the victims with his axe and takes the heads as his perquisite, while the worshipper and his family cook and eat the rest of the meat at the shrine. In the month of Pûs they worship the tribal deity—the goddess of iron—Lohâsur Devi. To her is offered a female goat which has never borne a kid and some cakes made of flour and molasses fried in butter. These cakes are broken into pieces before dedication. A fire offering (*hom*) is lit and some of the scraps of cake are thrown into it. The remainder are eaten by the worshippers. There is no temple or image of this deity. Brâhmans are never employed by them, and they do all their religious business themselves, except the worship of the village gods, which is entrusted to the Baiga. Among them the Baiga is always one of the Parahiya (*q. v.*) caste. The village gods are worshipped at their special shrine; offerings to Lohâsur Devi and the sainted dead are made in the court-yard of the house. It is only in the case of the sacrifice to the local gods that the Baiga receives the head of the victim; in other cases the whole of the meat is consumed by the worshippers themselves. No substitutes are used in sacrifice, and they do not offer parts of their own bodies, such as locks of hair, drops of blood, etc.

Religion.

20. Their festivals are the Phagua or Holi and the Baisâkhi called after the months in which they occur. At both they sacrifice to deceased ancestors and drink liquor. Both these are regular fixed feasts. They have no other Hindu holidays, nor at the Phagua do they light the holy fire as Hindus do. Before they offer the black goat to Lohâsur Devi they worship it, and before sacrificing it pour water on its head. Ancestors are worshipped to ward off evil from the household. They do not sacrifice animals at funerals, nor do they make any funeral offerings.

Festivals.

21. They dread the ghosts of the dead who appear in dreams, not because their obsequies have not been duly performed, but because they have not received their customary periodical worship. They are then appeased by the sacrifice of goats and fowls.

Ghosts.

Tattooing.

22. All the Dravidian tribes of Mirzapur, the Kharwâr, Majhwâr, Patâri, Panka, Ghasiya, Bhuiya, Paraliiya, Bhuiyâr, Korwa, Agariya, etc., have their bodies tattooed. This is done both to married and unmarried girls as soon as they attain to puberty. A widow cannot get herself tattooed, unless she marries again by the *sagâi* form. If a widow gets tattooed it is believed to bring trouble on the village. There are twenty-four forms of tattoo, any of which may be used by any woman of any of the castes. In general opinion tattooing is a sacred rite by which the body is sanctified. They say that the road to the heaven of Parameswar is full of difficulties, and at the end is a great gate guarded by terrible demons. The keepers will let no woman pass who is not tattooed. Accordingly every woman has to be tattooed, and in particular it is advisable to have the mark of some god marked on the body. They also believe that women who are not tattooed during life are tortured by the keepers of the gate of heaven. They burn them in the fire and brand them with a hot iron. They also roll them among thorns and afflict them in sundry ways. Some are taken to the top of the gate and flung down from thence. The only ornament which accompanies the soul to the other world is the *godna* or tattoo.[1] Besides being a religious obligation the tattoo is used as a decoration, and it hence takes the form of various kinds of jewelry. The tattooing is done by the women of the Bâdi or Malâr tribes of Nats. The remuneration varies according to the wealth of the patient and the character of the ornament. It ranges from half an anna to four annas. Women get themselves tattooed on the wrists, arms, shoulders, neck, breast, thighs, knees and below the knees. It is done with lamp-black mixed with the milk of the patient. If a woman be unmarried or barren, the milk of another woman of the family is used. If the milk of a woman of another caste be used it is considered most injurious to health. While the operation is going on, the patient is kept amused by the recitation of verses usually obscene. Tattooing is also used as a remedy for pains in various parts of the body. The black substance is made by burning the roots of certain jungle plants known as the *gaihora* and *Chains-*

[1] "In Efate two kinds of people were allowed to pass unharmed into Hades: those belonging to a certain tribe call Namtaku (a sort of yam) and those who had printed or graven or branded on their bodies certain marks or figures tattooed."

Somerville.—*Notes on the Islands of the New Hebrides, Journal Anthropological Institute*, XXIII., 10.

kora. Opium is also mixed with the black pigment to reduce the pain. A favorite remedy for barrenness is to tattoo the part of the stomach below the navel. In the same way a woman whose children are unhealthy and die gets a tattoo mark made on her armpit or stomach.

The chief forms of tattoo used by these jungle tribes are as follows:—The elephant; this is the sign of Ganesa, and women have it done on both arms; the sacred book (*pothi*),—this is done on the shoulders and arms; Mahâdeva,—this represents the name of Siva and is done on the breast; *sankha* or the conch shell,—this is done on the wrist, but is prohibited to women of the Majhwâr and Patâri tribes. It is the sign of coverture, and the woman who wears it does not become a widow in this world or in the life to come; *pahunchi* and *chûra*—these represent bangles or bracelets; the *pahunchi* is done on the arms, and the *chûra* below the knee; *Jata Mahâdeva*—this represent the matted locks of Siva and is done on the breast and other parts of the body; the *kansuli* or necklace—this is made on the neck in the place where the necklace is worn. While this mark is being tattooed, the mother of the girl seats her daughter on her knee because it is believed that the existence of this mark ensures that they both shall meet in the next world; the person who makes this mark receives extra remuneration. *Pân pattar* or betel leaf, *châwal* or rice mark, and the *kharwariya* are done on the arms in the place where the ornaments known as the *bâju* or *jaushan* are worn. Women of the Bhuiya and Parahiya tribes call this mark *rijhwâr* or "pleasing." The *bhanwara* or large bumble bee is done on the knees and thighs. The *murli-manohar* is the representation of Krishna as the flute-player. It is done on the wrists and arms. The *phulwâri* or flower garden is done on the breasts and arms. The *dharm gagariya* is a mark which is supposed to make the wearer holy in the world to come. The *râwana* is the sign of Rawana, the enemy of Râma Chandra. It is done on the breast and hands. *Garur* is the sign of the bird Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu. It is done on the arms chiefly by women of the Majhwâr, Patâri and Panka tribes. *Chandrama* is the sign of the moon, and is delineated on the breast and arms. *Râdha Krishna* is the sign of Krishna and his consort, done on the breast, wrist, and arms. The *dhandha* or "work" is the mark made below the navel by barren women in the hope of obtaining offspring. *Muraila* is the mark of the peacock made on the breast. Many of these marks are pro-

bably totemistic in origin, but the real meaning has now been forgotten, and they are at present little more than charms to resist disease and other misfortunes, and for the purpose of mere ornament.

Tree worship.

23. The only tree they respect is the sâkhu or sâl which is used at these marriages.

Clothes and jewelry.

24. There is nothing peculiar about their clothes, except their extreme scantiness. The men wear rings of brass or gold in the ear-lobes. The women wear ear ornaments made of palm-leaf (*tarki*), glass bangles (*chûri*) heavy pewter anklets (*pairi*), and on the arm brass rings (*ragari*), with bead necklaces on the throat.

Oaths.

25. They swear on the head of their son and believe that they die if they forswear themselves. They have no form of ordeal.

Witchcraft.

26. There appears to be no idea that their women, like those of the Bengal Agariyas, are notorious witches.[1] They have Ojhas in the tribe, who announce, by counting the grains of rice put before them in a state of ecstacy, what particular Bhût has attacked the patient. The usual result is that he decides that some particular godling (*deota*) is clamouring for an offering. They believe in dreams which are interpreted by the oldest man in the family. They are usually due to inattention to the wants of the sainted dead. They do not profess to believe in the Evil Eye. But this is more than doubtful.

Food.

27. They eat all kinds of meat, including beef. They will not touch a Dom; they will touch a Chamâr, Dharkâr, Ghasiya, or Dhobi, but will not eat from their hands. They have a special detestation for Doms.

Taboos.

28. They will not touch a menstrual woman or their younger brother's wife, or mother-in-law, or a connection through the marriage of children (*Samdhin*). They will not name their wives or elders in the family or the dead. In the morning they will not speak of death or quarrels or unlucky villages or persons of notorious character. They will not eat the flesh of monkeys, horses, crocodiles, lizards or snakes.

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[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 4.

29. Children eat first, then the men and women eat together, but in separate vessels. They have no ceremony at eating. They use liquor and chewing tobacco freely; they do not use the *huqqa*, but smoke out of pipes made of the leaf of the sâl tree. When they cannot get liquor to offer to deceased ancestors they mix flowers of the Mahua (*Bassia latifolia*) in water. They believe that the use of liquor keeps off sickness, but consider drunkenness disreputable. They salute in the same form as the Mânjhis (*q. v.*). They will eat food cooked in butter (*pakka*) from the hands of Kahârs, and boiled rice from Chhatris. There is no caste which will drink water touched by them.

Social usages.

30. They practically do no agriculture. Their business is smelting and forging iron. The following account of the manufacture is given by Dr. Ball[1]:—"The furnaces of the Agariyas are generally erected under some old tamarind or other shady tree on the outskirts of a village, or under sheds in a hamlet where Agariyas alone dwell, and which is situated in convenient proximity to the ore or to the jungle of sâl (*Shorea robusta*), or bijay sâl (*Pterocarpus marsupium*), where the charcoal is prepared. The furnaces are built of mud and are about three feet high, tapering from below upwards from a diameter of rather more than two feet at base to eighteen inches at top, with an internal diameter of about six inches, the hearth being somewhat wider. Supposing the Agariya and his family to have collected the charcoal and ore, the latter has to be prepared before being placed in the furnace. The magnetic ores are first broken into small fragments by pounding, and are then reduced to a fine powder between a pair of millstones. The hematite ores are not usually subjected to any other preliminary treatment besides pounding. A bed of charcoal having been placed on the hearth, the furnace is filled with charcoal and then fired. The blast is produced by a pair of kettle-drum-like bellows, which consist of basins loosely covered with leather in the centre of which is a valve. Strings attached to these leather covers are connected with a rude form of springs which are simply made by planting bamboos or young trees into the ground in a sloping

Occupation.

[1] *Jungle life*, 668.—For a more detailed account *see* Watt's *Dictionary of Economic Products*, IV., 502., *sqq*.

direction. The weight of the operator, or pair of operators, is alternately thrown from one drum to the other, the heels acting at each depression as stoppers to the valves. The blast is conveyed to the furnace by a pair of hollow bamboos, and has to be kept up steadily without intermission for from six to eight hours. From time to time ore and fuel are sprinkled on the top of the fire, and as fusion proceeds the slag is tapped off by a hole pierced a few inches from the top of the hearth. For ten minutes before the conclusion of the process, the bellows are worked with extra vigour, and the supply of ore and fuel from above is stopped. The clay luting of the hearth is then broken down, and the ball (*giri*) consisting of semi-molten iron slag and charcoal is taken out and immediately hammered, by which a considerable portion of the included slag which is still in a state of fusion is squeezed out. In some cases the Agariyas continue the further process, until after various reheatings in open furnaces and hammerings, they produce clean iron fit for the market, or even at times they work it up themselves into agricultural tools, etc. Not unfrequently, however, the Agariya's work ceases with the production of the *giri* which passes into the hands of the Lohârs. Four annas or six-pence is the price paid for an ordinary *giri*, and as but two of these can be made in a very hard day's work of fifteen hours' duration, and a considerable time has also to be expended on the preparation of charcoal and ore, the profits are very small. The fact is that although the actual price which the iron fetches in the market is high, the profits made by the native merchants (Mahâjan) and the immense disproportion between the time and labour expended and the outturn, both combine to leave the unfortunate Agariya in a miserable state of poverty." Some further enquiries recently made in Mirzapur prove the hopelessness of competition between native and imported iron. The native iron is specially valued for tools, etc., but with the diminution of jungle its manufacture will probably soon disappear.

Agariya: Agari.—There is another set of people known under this name who are found in the Central Ganges-Jumna Duáb who have no connection with the Agariyas of Mirzápur. They claim to be Chauhân Rájputs, and say that they emigrated to Bulandshahr about two centuries ago from Sambhal in the Morâdâbâd district. They are, as a rule, settled, but in the hot weather they migrate to Rohtak, in the Panjab, where they settle in rude

huts near villages and pursue their trade of making salt (*khâri nimak*) and saltpetre. They follow the customs of Râjputs in their marriage ceremonies, except that they levy a bride price from the relations of the bridegroom. They profess not to permit widow marriage, but they recognise the levirate. A wife may be put away for adultery or other misconduct with the sanction of the tribal council, and then she can re-marry by the *karâo* form. Some of them now live by agriculture. Gûjars, they say, will eat and smoke with them.

2. A caste known as Agari are miners and smelters in the hills: there they are regarded as a branch of the Doms.

3. Of the Agaris of the Panjab Mr. Ibbetson writes:—"The Agari is the salt-maker of Râjputâna and the east and south-east of the Panjab, and takes his name from the *Agar* or shallow pan in which he evaporates the saline water of the lakes or wells at which he works. The city of Agra derives its name from the same word. The Agaris would appear to be a true caste, and in Gurgâon are said to claim descent from the Râjputs of Chithor. There is a proverb,—"The Ak, the Jawâsa, the Agari and the cartman: when the lightning flashes these four give up the ghost:" because, I suppose, the rain which is likely to follow would dissolve their salt. The Agaris are all Hindus and are found in the Sultânpur tract on the common borders of the Delhi, Gurgâon and Rohtak districts, where the well water is exceedingly brackish, and where they manufacture salt by evaporation. Their social position is fairly good, being above that of the Lohârs, but, of course, below that of Jâts." [1]

4. Another name for them in these provinces is Gola Thâkur, or illegitimate Râjput. At the last Census they were included in the Luniyas.

Agarwâla.[2]—Usually treated as a sub-caste of the great Banya caste, a wealthy trading class in Upper India. There are various explanations of the name. According to one account they take their title from dealing in the aromatic wood of the *agar* (Sans. *aguru*) the eagle wood tree (*Aquilaria agallocha*). There is, however, no evidence that the sale of this article is, or ever was, a speciality

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[1] *Panjab Ethnography*, 330.

[2] Based on notes by the Deputy Inspector, Schools, Pilibhit, M. Mahâdeva Prasâd, Head Master, Zilâ School, Pilibhit.

of the Agarwâlas. Another story is that there were a thousand families of Agnihotri Brâhmans settled in Kashmîr, and that they were supplied with *agar* wood for their sacrifices by a special tribe of Vaisyas. When Alexander the Great invaded India he broke their sacred fire pits (*Agni kunda*), and these Vaisyas were dispersed and settled in the neighbourhood of Agra, whence they derived their name. A third legend again refers the name to Agroha, an ancient town in the Hissâr district of the Panjab, where a lâkh of families of Vaisyas were settled by King Agra Sena. Round this Râja Agra Sena there is a whole cycle of legend. His ancestor was Dhana Pâla, Râja of Pratâpnagar, which some identify with the present State in Râjputâna, and some place vaguely in the Dakkhin or Southern India. He had eight sons—Shiu, Nala, Anala, Nanda, Kunda, Kumuda, Vallabha, Suka, and a daughter, Mukuta. At that time there was a Râja Visâla, who had eight daughters—Padmâvati, Mâlati, Kanti, Subhadra, Sra, Srua, Basundhara and Râja. They were married to the eight sons of Dhana Pâla. Each of these, except Nala, who became an ascetic, had a kingdom of his own. In the family of Shiu there reigned in succession Vishnu Râja, Sudarsana, Dhurandhara, Samadi, Mohan Dâs and Nema Nâtha, who populated Nepâl and called it after his own name. His son Vrinda performed a great sacrifice at Brindâban, and named the place after himself. His son was Râja Gurjara, who occupied Gujarât. Râja Harihar succeeded him, and he had one hundred sons. One of these, Rangji, became Râja, and the others, for their impiety, were degraded into Sûdras. To him, in the fifth generation, succeeded Râja Agra Sena. At that time, Râja Kumuda of Nâga Loka, or "Dragon land," had a very beautiful daughter named Mâdhavi, who was wooed by the God Indra; but her father preferred to marry her to Râja Agra Sena. After his marriage he performed notable sacrifices at Benares and Hardwâr, and then went to Kolhâpur where he won the daughter of the Râja Mahidhara in the *swayamvara*. Finally he settled in the neighbourhood of Delhi and made Agra and Agroha his capitals. His dominions reached from the Himâlaya to the Ganges and the Jumna, and as far as Mârwâr on the west. He had eighteen queens, who bore him fifty-four sons and eighteen daughters. In his latter days he determined to perform a great sacrifice with each of his queens. Each of these sacrifices was in charge of a separate Achârya or officiant priest, and the *gotras* which sprang from him are named after these Achâryas. When he was performing the last

sacrifice, he was interrupted, and so there are seventeen full *gotras* and one half *gotra*. There are considerable differences in the enumeration of these *gotras*. One list, which seems authoritative, gives them as follows with the Veda, Sâkha and Sutra, to which they conform:—

Gotra.	*Veda.*	*Sâkha.*	*Sutra.*
1. Garga	Yajurveda.	Mâdhyandina.	Kâtyâyana.
2. Gobhila	,,	,,	,,
3. Gautama	,,	,,	,,
4. Maitreya	,,	,,	,,
5. Jaimini	,,	,,	,,
6. Saingala	Sâmaveda.	Kausthami.	Gobhila.
7. Vâgala	,,	,,	,,
8. Aurana	Yajurveda.	Mâdhyandina.	Kâtyâyana.
9. Kausika	,,	,,	,,
10. Kasyapa	Sâmaveda.	Kausthami.	Gobhila.
11. Tandeya	Yajurveda.	Mâdhyandina.	Kâtyâyana.
12. Mândavya	Rigveda.	Sakila.	Aswilâin.
13. Vasishtha	Yajurveda.	Mâdhyandina.	Kâtyâyana.
14. Mudgala	Rigveda.	Sakila.	Aswilâin.
15. Dhânyâsha	Yajurveda.	Mâdhyandina.	Kâtyâyana.
16. Dhelana Dhauma	,,	,,	,,
17. Taitariya	,,	,,	,,
17½. Nagendra	Sâmaveda.	Kausthami.	Gobhila.

The lists given by both Mr. Risley and Mr. Sherring differ considerably from this. Mr. Risley gives—

(1) Garg; (2) Goil; (3) Gâwâl; (4) Batsil; (5) Kâsil; (6) Singhal; (7) Mangal; (8) Bhaddal; (9) Tingal; (10) Airan; (11) Tairan; (12) Thingal; (13) Tittal; (14) Mittal; (15) Tundal; (16) Tâyal; (17) Gobhil; (17½) Goin.

Mr. Sherring gives the *Gotras* as follows:—

(1) Garga; (2) Gobhila; (3) Garwâla; (4) Batsila; (5) Kasila; (6) Sinhal; (7) Mangala; (8) Bhadala; (9) Tingala; (10) Erana; (11) Tâyal; (12) Terana; (13) Thingala; (14) Tittila; (15) Nîtal; (16) Tundala; (17) Goila and Goina; (17½) Bindal.

Agarwâlas again have the divisions Dasa and Bîsa, the "tens" and the "twenties" like the Oswâls (*q. v.*). One account of their origin is that when the daughters of Râja Vâsuki, the king of the snakes, married the sons of Râja Agra Sena, they each brought a handmaid with them, and their descendants are the Dasas. The Bîsa or pure Agarwâlas do not eat, drink or intermarry with the Dasas.

Connection of the Agarwâlas and Nâgas.

2. Regarding the legend of the connection of the Agarwâlas and Nâgas Mr. Risley[1] writes :—"With the Agarwâlas, as with all castes at the present day, the section names go by the male side.

In other words a son belongs to the same *gotra* as his father, not to the same *gotra* as his mother, and kinship is no longer reckoned through females alone. Traces of an earlier matriarchal system may perhaps be discerned in the legend already referred to, which represented Râja Agar Nâth as successfully contending with Indra for the hand of the daughters of two Nâga Râjas, and obtaining from Lakshmi the special favor that his children by one of them should bear their father's name. The memory of this Nâga princess is still held in honor. "Our mother's house is of the race of the snake" (*jât kâ nânihâl nâgbansi hai*) say the Agarwâlas of Behâr; and for this reason no Agarwâla, whether Hindu or Jain, will kill or molest a snake. In Delhi Vaishnava Agarwâlas paint pictures of snakes on either side of the outside doors of their houses, and make offerings of fruit and flowers before them. Jaina Agarwâlas do not practise any form of snake-worship. Read in the light of Bachofen's researches into archaic forms of kinship, the legend and the prohibition arising from it seem to take us back to the prehistoric time when the Nâga race still maintained a separate national existence, and had not been absorbed by the conquering Aryans; when Nâga women were eagerly sought in marriage by Aryan chiefs; and when the offspring of such unions belonged by Nâga custom to their mother's family. In this view the boon granted by Lakshmi to Râja Agar Nâth that his children should be called after his name, marks a transition from the system of female kinship, characteristic of the Nâgas, to the new order of male parentage introduced by the Brâhmans, while the Behâr saying about the Nânihâl is merely a survival of those matriarchal ideas according to

[1] *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I., 5 *sq.*

which the snake totem of the race would necessarily descend in the female line. In the last of the six letters entitled "Orestes—Astika, Eine Griechisch—Indische Parallele" Bachofen has the following remarks on the importance of the part played by the Nâga race in the development of the Brâhmanical polity. The connection of Brâhmans with Nâga women is a significant historical fact.

Wherever a conquering race alies itself with the women of the land, indigenous manners and customs come to be respected, and their maintenance is deemed the function of the female sex. A long series of traditions corroborate it in connection with the autochthonous Nâga race. The respect paid to Nâga women, the influence which they exercised, not merely on their own people, but also in no less degree on the rulers of the country, the fame of their beauty, the praise of their wisdom—all this finds manifold expression in the tales of the Kashmîr chronicle, and in many other legends based upon the facts of real life."

Snake-worship among Agarwâlas.

3. In connection with these speculations it may be noted that Agarwâlas have a special form of worship in honor of the Saint Astika Muni. He was the son of Jaratkâru by the sister of the great serpent Vâsuki and saved the life of the serpent Takshaka, when Janmejaya made his great sacrifice of serpents. This worship appears to be peculiar to the Agarwâlas, and is said to be performed only by Tiwâri Brâhmans. On the fourth day of the light half of Sâwan they bathe in the Ganges and make twenty-one marks on the wall of the house with red lead and butter; and an offering is presented consisting of cocoa-nuts, clothes, five kinds of dry fruits, and twenty-one pairs of cakes (*pâpar*), some yellow sesamum (*sarson*) flowers and a lamp lighted with butter. Some camphor is then burnt, and the usual *ârti* ceremony performed.

These things are all provided by the Agarwâla who does the worship. Astika Muni they believe to have been the preceptor (*Guru*) of the Nâga, and Agarwâlas call themselves Nâga Upâsaki or snake-worshippers. After this the women of the family come to the house of the officiating Brâhman. The *ârti* ceremony is again done by burning camphor, and the Brâhman marking their foreheads with red (*rori*) gives them part of the cakes as a portion of the sacred offering (*prasâda*). Each woman presents two pice to the Brâhman in return. This sesamum they sprinkle in their houses as a preservative against snake-bite.

They are taught a special *mantra* or spell for this purpose which is said to run:—"I say that at whosoever's birth the ceremony of Astika is performed the most poisonous snake runs away when he calls out Snake! Snake!"

This ceremony is performed once a year, and the day after it each person who joins in it gives the officiating Brâhman a present of uncooked grain.

Exogamy.

4. Agarwâlas follow the strict rules of the Shâstras in regulating the prohibited degrees. "All the sections are strictly exogamous, but the rule of unilateral exogamy is supplemented by provisions forbidding marriage with certain classes of relations. Thus a man may not marry a woman, (*a*) belonging to his own *gotra*; (*b*) descended from his own paternal or maternal grandfather, great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather; (*c*) descended from his own paternal or maternal aunt; (*d*) belonging to the grand maternal family (*nánihál*) of his own father or mother. He may marry the younger sister of his deceased wife, but not the elder sister, nor may he marry two sisters at the same time. As is usual in such cases, the classes of relations barred are not mutually exclusive. All the agnatic descendants of a man's three nearest male ascendants are necessarily members of his own *gotra*, and, therefore, come under class (*a*) as well as class (*b*). Again, the paternal and maternal aunt and their descendants are included among the descendants of the paternal and maternal grandfathers, while some of the members of the *nánihál* must also come under class (*b*). The *gotra* rule is undoubtedly the oldest, and it seems probable that the other prohibited classes may have been added from time to time as experience and the growing sense of the true nature of kinship demonstrated the incompleteness of the primitive rule of exogamy."[1]

Birth ceremonies.

5. In these Provinces when the moment of delivery comes, it is the etiquette for the husband to go himself and call the Chamârin midwife. This is always so in case of the birth of a son; but if it is a girl he can either go himself or send a servant to fetch her. She comes and cuts the cord, which is not, as is the case with many other castes, buried in the delivery room. A fire (*pasanghi*) is kept burning near the mother to keep off evil spirits, and guns are fired to scare the

[1] Risley, *loc. cit.* 6.

dreaded demon Jamhua. After the child is born the mother is given a dose of assafœtida and water, the bitterness and smell of which she is not under the circumstances supposed to be able to feel. The Chamârin remains three days in attendance, and during that time the mother is fed on fruits and not allowed to eat grain in any form. On the third day she is bathed and the Chamârin dismissed. After this she is fed on grain. On the sixth day is the Chamar Chhathiya when the women keep awake all night and have lamps burning. All the women take lamp-black from one of these lamps and mark their eyes with it to bring good luck, and a little is also put on the eyes of the baby. Within fifteen days of delivery when the Pandit fixes an auspicious time the mother is bathed. There is no twelfth day (*barahi*) ceremony. The astrological (*rás*) name is fixed by the Pandit; the ordinary name by the head of the family. The mother is again bathed on the fortieth day, and is then pure and can rejoin her family. If the family can afford it, after this the Pandit is sent for and there is a formal naming ceremony (*nâma karma*), but this is not absolutely necessary.

Marriage ceremonies.

6. There is no fixed age for marriage. The wealthier members of the tribe marry their daughters in infancy; poorer people keep them till they are grown up in default of a suitable match being arranged. The marriage follows the usual high caste form. When the horoscopes agree (*rás barag*) and the friends are satisfied, a Pandit is asked to fix a lucky day. No bride price is given or received. Then the boy's father sends to the bride's house a maund of curds, some sweets and two rupees in cash to clench the proposal. The curds are sent in an earthen pot smeared with yellow; some red cloth is put over the mouth and on this the money is placed. This constitutes the betrothal. When the marriage day approaches the boy's father sends the bride some ornaments made of alloy (*phúl*), a silken tassel, some henna and pomegranates, some sweetmeats, toys and a sheet (*sâri*). The number of trays of presents should be at least eleven and not more than one hundred and twenty-five. The girl's father keeps for the bride only the shawl, some sweets and flowers, and sends back the rest. Next day these flowers are tied in the bride's hair. If the marriage takes place in a town she goes to a temple and worships, and there she meets her future mother-in-law for the first time. After this follows the anointing of the bride and bride-

groom, known as *Tel-hardi*. When the bridegroom reaches the house of the bride, he is seated on a wooden stool, and the women of the family take up the bride in their arms and revolve her in the air round the bridegroom. During this the bride sprinkles rice (*achhat*) over him.

This ceremony is known as *Barhi phirdna*. Then comes the *Sakhran* ceremony. Some curds are put in a bag and hung up. When all the whey has escaped, the remainder is mixed with the same quantity of milk and sugar, some cardamoms, pepper and perfume; this is first offered to the family god (*kula-deva*), the other godlings (*deota*), and to a Brâhman, and is then distributed in the form of a dinner (*jeonâr*). This is always given on the day the *tilak* ceremony is performed. The girl is brought into the marriage pavilion by a near relation (*mân*), generally her father's son-in-law, and seated in her father's lap. He puts her hand in his with some wheat dough and a gold ring. Then he does the *Kanyâddn* or solemn giving away of the bride to the bridegroom, while the priest reads the formula of surrender (*sankalpa*). Then a cloth is hung up, and behind it in secret the bridegroom puts five pinches of red-lead on the parting of the bride's hair, and they march round the pavilion five times. The girls of the family tie the clothes of the pair in a knot. When this is over they are taken to the retiring room (*kohabar*) where they are escorted by the next-of-kin (*mân*) of the bride, who sprinkles a line of water on the ground as they proceed. There the bridegroom's head-dress (*sehra*) is removed. It is not the custom for the bride to return at once with her husband; there is a separate *gauna*. This *gauna* must take place on one of the odd years first, third or fifth after the regular marriage.

Adoption.

7. In a recent [1] case it was held that according to the usage prevailing in Delhi and other towns in the North-Western Provinces among the sect of Agarwâlas who are Sarâogis, a sonless widow takes an absolute interest in the self-acquired property of her husband, has a right to adopt without permission from her husband or consent of his kinsmen, and may adopt a daughter's son who on the adoption takes the place of a son begotten. It was questioned whether on such an adoption a widow is entitled to retain possession of the estate either as proprietor or as manager of her adopted son.

[1] Shoo Singh Rai *versus* Dakho, *Indian Law Reports, Allahabad*, I., 688.

Agarwalas and Chamârs.

8. Between the Agarwâla, who is perhaps, in appearance, the best bred of the tribes grouped under the name of Banya, and the dark non-Aryan Chamâr, it is difficult to imagine any possible connection, but it is curious that there are legends which indicate this. Thus it is said that an Agarwâla once unwittingly married his daughter to a Chamâr. When after some time the parents of the bridegroom disclosed the fact, the Agarwâla murdered his son-in-law. He became a Bhût and began to trouble the clansmen, so they agreed that he should be worshipped at marriages. Hence, at their weddings they are said to fill a leather bag with dry fruits, to tie it up in the marriage shed, to light a lamp beneath it, and to worship it in the form of a deity called Ohur, which is supposed to save women from widowhood. A similar story is told at Partâbgarh:—"I have heard it alleged (and the story is current, I believe, in parts of the Panjab) that once upon a time a certain Râja had two daughters, named Chamu and Bamu. These married and each gave birth to a son, who in time grew up to be prodigies of strength (*pahalwân*). An elephant happened to die on the Râja's premises, and being unwilling that the carcase should be cut up and disposed of piecemeal within the precincts of his abode, he sought for a man of sufficient strength to carry it forth whole and bury it. Chamu's son undertook and successfully performed this marvellous feat. The son of Bamu, stirred no doubt by jealousy, professed to regard this act with horror and broke off all relations with his cousin and pronounced him an outcaste. Chamârs are asserted to be descendants of the latter and Banyas of the former, and hence the former in some parts, though admitting their moral degradation, have been known to assert that they are in reality possessed of a higher rank in the social scale than the latter." [1] The story is worth repeating as an instance of some of the common legends regarding the original connection of castes. Why the Chamârs should have selected in the Agarwâla Banyas the most unlikely people with whom to assert relationship, it is very difficult to say. Agarwâlas are also said at marriages to mount the bridegroom secretly on an ass which is worshipped. If this be true, it is probably intended as a means of propitiating Sîtalâ mâi, the dreaded goddess of small-pox, whose vehicle is the ass.

[1] *Settlement Report*, 61.

Religion.

9. Most of the Agarwâlas are Vaishnâvas; some are Jâinas or Sarâogis. At the last Census 269,000 declared themselves as Hindus, and 38,000 as Jainas. A small minority are Saivas or Sâktas, but in deference to tribal feeling they abstain from sacrificing animals and using meat or liquor. As Mr. Risley says [1]:—"Owing, perhaps, to this uniformity of practice in matters of diet, these differences of religious belief do not operate as a bar to intermarriage; and when a marriage takes place between persons of different religions, the standard Hindu ritual is used. When husband and wife belong to different sects, the wife is formally admitted into her husband's sect and must in future have her own food cooked separately when staying at her father's house." Their tribal deity is Lakshmi. They venerate ancestors at the usual Srâddha. They worship snakes at the Nâgpanchami in addition to the special tribal worship described in *para.* 3. Among trees they venerate the pîpal, kadam, sami and babûl. Their priests are generally Gaur Brâhmans. Some of them profess to abstain from wearing certain kinds of dress and ornaments, as they say, under the orders of their family Sati.

Social rules.

10. As regards food, the use of the onion, garlic, carrot and turnip is forbidden. At the commencement of meals a small portion is thrown into the fire, and a little known as Gogrâs is given to the family cow. "All Pachhainiya and most Purabiya Agarwâlas wear the sacred thread. In Behar they rank immediately below Brâhmans and Kâyasths, and the former can take water and certain kinds of sweetmeats from their hands. According to their own account they can take cooked food only from Brâhmans of the Gaur, Tailanga, Gujarâti and Sanâdh sub-castes; water and sweatmeats they can take from any Brâhmans, except the degraded classes of Ojha and Mahâbrâhman, from Râjputs, Bais Banyas, and Khatris (usually reckoned as Vaisyas), and from the superior members of the so-called mixed castes, from whose hands Brâhmans will take water. Some Agarwâlas, however, affect a still higher standard of ceremonial purity in the matter of cooked food, and carry their prejudices to such lengths that a mother-in-law will not eat food prepared by her daughter-in-law. All kinds of animal food are strictly prohibited, and the

[1] *Loc. cit.* 7.

members of the caste also abstain from *jovanda* rice which has been parboiled before husking. Jaina Agarwâlas will not eat after dark for fear of swallowing minute insects. Smoking is governed by the rules in force for water and sweetmeats. It is noticed that the Purohits of the caste will smoke out of the same *huqqa* as their clients." [1]

Occupation.

11. The Agarwâlas are one of the most respectable and enterprising of the mercantile tribes in the Province. They are bankers, money-lenders and land-holders. These rights in land have generally been acquired through their mercantile business. It is a joke against them that the finery of the Agarwâla never wears out because it is taken so much care of. They are notorious for their dislike to horsemanship, and for the skill of their women in making vermicelli pastry and sweetmeats. The greatness of Agroha, their original settlement, is commemorated in the legend told by Dr. Buchanan [2] that when any firm failed in the city, each of the others contributed a brick and five rupees which formed a stock sufficient for the merchant to recommence trade with advantage.

Distribution of Agarwâlas by the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Jainas.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	2,109	234	2,343
Sahâranpur	26,448	5,988	32,436
Muzaffarnagar	28,237	9,029	37,266
Meerut	37,792	16,307	54,099
Bulandshahr	26,272	1,053	27,325
Aligarh	16,083	9	16,092
Mathura	27,323	1,196	28,519
Agra	22,439	1,447	23,886
Farrukhâbâd	2,281	122	2,403
Mainpuri	2,350	157	2,507
Etâwah	2,048	137	2,185

[1] Risley, *loc. cit.* 8.

[2] *Eastern India*, II., 465.

Distribution of Agarwalas by the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Hindus.	Jainas.	Total.
Etah	2,518	69	2,587
Bareilly	7,401	4	7,405
Bijnor	12,222	779	13,001
Budâun	1,968	3	1,971
Murâdâbâd	10,968	255	11,223
Shâhjahânpur	1,065	33	1,098
Pilibhît	2,255	11	2,266
Cawnpur	6,004	70	6,074
Fatehpur	543	...	543
Bânda	860	...	860
Hamîrpur	1,542	...	1,542
Allahâbâd	3,340	...	3,340
Jhânsi	3,482	14	3,496
Jâlaun	1,907	...	1,907
Lalitpur	119	...	119
Benares	2,833	3	2,836
Mirzâpur	1,920	...	1,920
Jaunpur	263	...	263
Ghâzipur	1,067	26	1,093
Ballia	510	...	510
Gorakhpur	1,539	40	1,579
Basti	277	...	277
Azamgarh	1,049	...	1,049
Kumâun	260	...	260
Garhwâl	1,755	...	1,755
Tarâi	1,348	36	1,384
Lucknow	2,831	422	3,253
Unâo	149	8	157

Distribution of Agarwalas by the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindus.	Jainas.	Total.
Râê Bareli	140	23	163
Sîtapur	266	124	390
Hardoi	106	...	106
Kheri	276	...	276
Faizâbâd	1,022	...	1,022
Gonda	802	...	802
Bahrâich	292	30	322
Sultânpur	205	...	205
Partâbgarh	295	...	295
Bâra Banki	500	887	1,387
Grand Total	269,761	38,516	308,277

Agastwâr.—A sect of Râjputs found principally in Pargana Haveli of Benares. They claim to take their name from the Rishi Agastya, who appears to have been one of the early Brâhman missionaries to the country south of the Vindhya range, which he is said to have ordered to prostrate themselves before him.

Aghori, Aghorpanthi, Aughar.[1]—(Sanskrit *aghora* "not terrific," a euphemistic title of Siva), the most disreputable class of Saiva mendicants. The head-quarters of the sect are at Râmgarh, Benares. The founder of it was Kinna Râm, a Râjput by caste, who was born at Râmgarh, and was a contemporary of Balwant Sinh, Râja of Benares. When he was quite a boy he retired to a garden near Benares and meditated on the problems of life and death. He became possessed of the spirit and his parents shut him up as a madman. When they tried to wean him from the life of an ascetic and marry him, he made his escape and retired to Jagannâth. Some time after he was initiated by a Vaishnava Pandit from Ghâzipur. Then he went to Ballua Ghât at Benares and began to practise austerities. Some time after one Kâlu Râm came from Girnâr Hill, and Kinna Râm attended on him for some years. One day he announced his intention of making a second pilgrimage to Jagannâth, when Kâlu said,—"If I bring Jagannâth before your eyes here will you give up

[1] Based mainly on a note by Pandit Râmgharib Chaube.

your intention?" Kinna Râm agreed, and then by his supernatural power Kâlu Râm did as he had promised to do. This shook the faith of Kinna Râm and he abandoned the Vaishnava sect and was initiated as a Saiva. From that time he became an Aughar or Aghori. Kâlu Râm gave him a piece of burning wood which he had brought from the Smasâna Ghât or cremation ground at Benares, and ordered him with this to maintain the perpetual fire. After this Kâlu Râm returned to Girnâr and Kinna Râm went to the garden where he had stayed at the opening of his life and erected a monastery there. He performed miracles and attracted a number of disciples out of his own tribe.

2. Some time after his own Guru who had initiated him into the Vaishnava sect came to see him. Kinna Râm directed him to go to Delhi, where a number of Sâdhus were then suffering imprisonment at the hands of the Muhammadan Emperor for their faith, and to procure their release by working miracles. The Guru went there and shared their fate. Long after when the Guru did not return Kinna Râm went himself to Delhi in order to effect his release. Kinna Râm, on his arrival, was arrested and sentenced to work on the flour-mills. He asked the Emperor if he would release him and the other Sâdhus, if he was able, by his miraculous power to make the mills move of themselves. The Emperor agreed and he worked the miracle. The Emperor was so impressed by his power that he released the Sâdhus and conferred estates on Kinna Râm. The Sâdhus whom he had released became his disciples, and he returned to Benares, where at Râmgarh he established the Aghori sect and became the first leader. He lived to a good old age, and was succeeded by one of the members elected by general vote of the society.

Form of initiation.

3. The form of initiation into the sect is as follows:—The candidate for initiation places a cup of liquor and a cup of *bhang* on the stone which covers the tomb of Kinna Râm. It is said that those who wish to become Aughars without losing caste drink only the *bhang*, while those who desire to be fully initiated drink both the *bhang* and spirits. Some say that when the candidate has perfect faith, the cups come to his lips of themselves. Then a sacrifice is performed in which various kinds of fruits are thrown into the fire which has been kept alight since it was first lighted by Kinna Râm, and an animal, usually a goat, is sacrificed. It is believed that the animal thus

sacrificed often comes to life again when the function is over. After this the hair of the candidate is moistened in urine, by preference that of the head of the sect, and shaved. Subsequently the candidate has to meditate on the precepts and teaching of Kinna Râm, which are recorded in a book known as the Bîjaka. Those who are illiterate have these read over to them by other Aughars. The initiation ceremony ends with a feast to all the disciples present, at which spirits and meat are distributed. This is followed by a probation term of twelve years, during which the initiated eats any kind of filthy food, the flesh of corpses being included. Their life is spent in drinking and smoking intoxicating drugs, and they are most abusive to those who will not give them alms. When they go to beg they carry a bottle either empty or full of spirits. They demand alms in the words *Jây Kinna Râm ki*, (Glory to Kinna Râm). It is said that after leading this life for twelve years they abandon the use of spirits and only eat filthy food.

4. A great resort of this class of ascetics is the Asthbhuja hill near Bindhâchal in the Mirzapur District. According to Lassen, quoted by Mr. Risley,[1] the Aghoris of the present day are closely related to the Kapâlika or Kapâladhârin sect of the middle ages who wore crowns and necklaces of skulls and offered human sacrifices to Châmunda, a horrible form of Devi or Pârvati. In support of this view it is observed that in Bhavabhuti's Drama of Mâlati Mâdhava, written in the eighth century, the Kapalikas orcerer, from whom Mâlati is rescued, as she is about to be sacrificed to Châmunda, is euphemistically described as an Aghorakantha, from aghora, "not terrible." The Aghoris of the present day represent their filthy habits as merely giving practical expression to the abstract doctrine of the Paramahansa sect of the Saivites that the whole universe is full of Brahma, and consequently that one thing is as pure as another. The *mantra* or mystic formula by which Aghoris are initiated is believed by other ascetics to be very powerful and to be capable of restoring to life the human victims offered to Devi and eaten by the officiating priest." Not long since a member of the sect was punished in Budaun for eating human flesh in public. Of the Panjab Mr. MacLagan[2] writes :—"The only real sub-division of the Jogis which are at all commonly recognised are the well-known sects of Oghar and Kanphattas. The Kanphattas, as their name denotes,

[1] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 10. [2] *Panjab Census Report*, 115.

pierce their ears and wear in them large rings (*mundra*) generally of wood, stone or glass; the ears of the novice are pierced by the Guru, who gets a fee of Re. 1-4-0. Among themselves the word Kanphatta is not used; but they call themselves Darshani or 'one who wears an ear-ring.' The Oghar, on the contrary, do not split their ears, but wear a whistle (*nâdha*) of wood, which they blow at morning and evening and before meals. Kanphattas are called by names ending in Nâth, and the names of the Oghar end in Dâs. The Kanphattas are the more distinctive sect of the two, and the Oghars were apparently either their predecessors or seceders from their body. One account says that the Kanphattas are the followers of Gorakhnâth, the pupil of Jalandharanâth, who sometimes appears in the legends as an opponent of Gorakhnâth. Another account would go further back and connect the two sects with a sub-division of the philosophy of Patanjali." The difference between the Aughar and Aghori does not seem to be very distinct; the Aghori adds to the disgusting license of the Aughar in matters of food the occasional eating of human flesh and filth.

Distribution of Aghorpanthis and Aughars by the Census of 1891.[1]

District.	Aughar.	Aghori including Kinnarâni.	Total.	District.	Aughar.	Aghori including Kinnarâni.	Total.
Dehrà Dûn . .	86	...	86	Benares. . .	186	...	186
Muzaffarnagar .	1,235	...	1,235	Ghâzipur . .	9	100	109
Meerut . . .	1,646	...	1,646	Ballia . . .	...	67	67
Bulandshahr . .	40	...	40	Gorakhpur . .	...	260	260
Agra . . .	32	13	45	Basti . . .	...	96	96
Etah . . .	8	...	8	Azamgarh . .	7	...	7
Bijnor . . .	821	...	821	Kumâon . .	5	...	5
Budâun . . .	15	...	15	Tarâi . . .	54	...	54
Moradâbâd . .	52	...	52	Lucknow . .	6	29	35
Pilibhit . . .	16	9	25	Râi Bareli . .	...	3	3
Cawnpur . .	...	8	8	Unâo . . .	1	...	1
Bânda . . .	...	6	6	Sîtapur . . .	12	...	12
Hamirpur . .	14	9	23	Faizâbâd . .	...	13	13
Allahâbâd . .	1	17	18	Gonda . . .	45	...	45
Jhânsi . . .	2	...	2	Sultânpur . .	15	...	15
				Grand Total .	4,317	630	4,947

[1] The Census in Bengal shows their numbers to be 3,877. The Jogi Aughars of the Panjab number only 436.

Agnihotri.[1]—A class of Brâhmans who are specially devoted to the maintenance of the sacred fire. The number of such Brâhmans now-a-days is very limited, as the ceremonies involve heavy expenditure and the rules which regulate them are very elaborate and difficult. They are seldom found among the Pancha Gaur Brâhmans, who are not devoted to the deep study of the Vedas; they are most numerous among the Pancha Drâvira or Dakshini Brâhmans. In one sense, of course, the offering of part of the food to fire at the time of eating is one of the five daily duties of a Brâhman; but the regular fire sacrifice is the special duty of the Agnihotri. In order to secure the requisite purity he is bound by certain obligations not to travel or remain away from home for any lengthened period; to sell nothing which is produced by himself or his family; not to give much attention to worldly affairs; to speak the truth; to bathe and worship the deities in the afternoon as well as in the morning; to offer *pindas* to his deceased ancestors on the 15th of every month before he takes food; not to eat food at night; not to eat alkaline salt (*khâri nimak*), honey, meat, and inferior grain, such as *urad* pulse or the *kodo* millet; not to sleep on a bed, but on the ground; to keep awake most of the night and study the Shâstras; to have no connection with, or unholy thoughts regarding, any woman except his wife; or to commit any other act involving personal impurity.

2. In the plains there are three kinds of Agnihotris: first, hereditary Agnihotris; second, those who commence maintaining the sacred fire from the time they are invested with the Brâhmanical cord; and third, those who commence to do so later on in life. The proper time to begin is the time of investiture. If any one commence it at a later age, he has to undergo certain purificatory rites, and if subsequently the maintenance of the fire is interrupted, the ceremony of purification has to be undergone again. The ceremony of purification is of the kind known as *Prajapatya vrata*, which is equal to three times the *krichchhra*, which latter lasts for four days, and consists in eating the most simple food once in the 24 hours; to eat once at night on the second day; not to ask for food, but to take what is placed before him; to eat nothing on the fourth day. This course, carried out for twelve days, consti-

[1] Based on notes by Pandit Râmgharib Chaube and Pandit Janardan Dat Joshi, Deputy Collector, Bareilly.

tutes the *Prâjapatya vrata*. In default of this the worshipper has to give as many cows to Brâhmans as years have passed since his investiture. In default of this he must tell the *gâyatri mantra* ten thousand times for every year that has passed since he was invested. Or finally, if he can do none of these, he may place in the sacrificial pit (*kunda*) as many thousand offerings (*âhuti*) of sesamum (*tila*) as years have passed.

3. Agnihotri Brâhmans keep in their houses a separate room, in which is the pit at which the fire sacrifice is performed, and a second pit out of which is taken fire to burn the Agnihotri himself or any of his family when they die; besides these, a third pit is maintained from which fire is taken when it is required for ordinary household work. The first is known as the *havaniya kunda*, the second *dagdha kunda*, and the third, *grâhya patya*. The pit is one cubit in cubic measurement. All three are of the same dimensions. Around it is a platform (*vedi*), twelve finger breadths in width, and made of masonry or clay. One-third of it is coloured black, and is known as *tama*, "darkness" or "passion"; one-third, coloured red, is *rajas*, or "impurity," and one-third, white, signifying *sat*, or "virtue." Sometimes the pit is made in the form of the leaf of a pîpal tree and has the mouth in the shape of the *yoni*. In the morning the Agnihotri should place in the pit an oblation (*âhuti*) of ghi: this should be the product of the cow; if this be not procurable, it may be replaced with buffalo ghi, or that of the goat, sesamum oil, curds, milk, or, in the last resort, pottage (*lapsi*). On certain occasions an offering of rice-milk (*khîr*) is allowed. Some also offer incense.

4. The sacrifice is made in this way: First of all the pit should be swept with a bundle of *kusa* grass, and the ashes and refuse thrown into a pure place in the house facing the north-east; next the pit is plastered with cow-dung; then three lines are drawn in the middle with a stalk of *kusa* grass; from these lines three pinches of dust are collected and thrown towards the north-east. The pit and altar are then sprinkled with water from a branch of *kusa* grass. Fire is then kindled with the *arani*, or sacred drill, and lighted with wood of the sandal tree, or *palâsa*, which are also used for replenishing the fire. After this is performed the *nândi srâddha*, or commemorative offering to the manes preliminary to any joyous occasion, such as initiation, marriage, etc., when nine balls (*pinda*) are offered in threes—three to the deceased father, his father, and

grandfather; three to the maternal grandfather, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather; three to the mother, paternal grandmother, and great-grandmother. Water is then filled into the sacrificial vessel (*pranîta*), and twenty blades of *kusa* grass are arranged round the altar, so that the heads of all be facing the east. All the sacrificial vessels (*pâtra*) are arranged north of the pit and the altar. First of all the *pranîta* is so placed; then three blades of *kusa* grass; then another sacrificial vessel called the *prokshani pâtra*; then the *âjya* or *ajyasthalipâtra*, which holds the offering of ghi; after these the *samârjana*, or brush, the *sruva*, or sacrificial ladle, and the *pûrna pâtra*, another vessel. The vessels are purified with aspersion from a bunch of *kusa* grass dipped in water, after which the ghi is poured on the fire out of a bell-metal cup, and, with a prayer to Prajâpati, the fire is replenished with pieces of wood soaked in ghi.

5. Certain ceremonies (*sanskâra*) are incumbent on Agnihotris. On the fifteenth of every Hindu month they must perform the *srâddha* for their deceased ancestors: on the last day of every month they must do the *srâddha* and fire sacrifice (*homa*) every day during the four months of the rainy season. They must do the *homa* on a large scale: they must do the *srâddha* on the eighth day of both the fortnights in Sâwan and Chait: they must do a great fire sacrifice in Aghan and feed Brâhmans. Whenever a man begins to perform the fire sacrifice he always starts on the Amâvas, or fifteenth day of the month. There is a special elaborate ritual when an offering of rice-milk is made, in which sacred mortars and pestles and sacred winnowing fans are used with special *mantras* in extracting the rice from the husk.

The Agnihotris of the Hills.

6. Of these, Pandit Janardan Datta Joshi writes:—"They originally came from Gujarât, and are worshippers of the Sâma Veda. An Agnihotri commences fire worship from the date of his marriage. The sacred fire of the marriage altar is carried in a copper vessel to his fire-pit. This fire is preserved by a continual supply of fuel, and when the Agnihotri dies this fire alone must be used for his funeral pyre. He takes food once a day only and bathes three times. He must not eat meat, *masûr* pulse, the *baingan*, or egg-plant, or other impure articles of food. He never wears shoes: he performs the fire sacrifice (*homa*) daily with ghi, rice, etc., and recites the *mantra* of the Sâma Veda. The fire-pit which I have seen was forty feet long and fifteen broad, and is known as *Agni Kunda*.

He has to feed one Brâhman daily before he can take his food, and he eats always in the afternoon. Generally, the eldest son alone is eligible for this office, but other sons may practise it if they choose.

7. "The method of producing fire by the *arani* is as follows:— The base is formed of *sami* wood one cubit long, one span broad and eight finger breadths deep. In the block a small hole is made four finger breadths deep, emblematical of the female principle (*sakti yoni*). The middle *arani* is a shaft eighteen inches long and four finger breadths in diameter. An iron nail, one finger breadth long, is fixed to its end as an axis or pivot. The top *arani*, which is a flat piece of wood, is pressed on this nail, and two priests continue to press the bottom *arani* and maintain them in position. The point in the drill where the rope is applied to cause it to revolve, is called *deva yoni*. Before working the rope the *gâyatri* must be repeated, and a hymn from the Sâma Veda in honour of the fire god Agni. After repeating this hymn the fire produced by the friction is placed in a copper vessel, and powdered cowdung is sprinkled over it. When it is well alight it is covered with another copper vessel, and drops of water are sprinkled over it while the *gâyatri* is recited three times. The sprinkling is done with *kusa* grass. Again a Sâma Vedahymn in honour of Agni is recited. It is then formally consigned to the fire-pit. If the Agnihotri chance to let his fire go out he must get it from the pit of another Agnihotri, or produce it by means of the *arani*."

Agrahari: Agrehri.—A sub-caste of Banyas found in considerable numbers in the Allâhâbâd, Benares, Gorakhpur, Lucknow, and Faizâbâd divisions. They claim partly a Vaisya and partly a Brâhmanical descent, and wear the sacred cord. Their name has been connected with the cities of Agra and Agroha. Mr. Nesfield derives it from the *agara* or aloe wood, which is one of the many things which they sell. There is no doubt that they are closely connected with the Agarwâlas, and Mr. Nesfield suggests that the two groups must have been "sections of one and the same caste which quarrelled on some trifling question connected with cooking or eating, and have remained separate ever since." Mr. Sherring remarks that they, unlike the Agarwâlas, allow polygamy, and Mr. Risley[1] suggests that if this be true it may

[1] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 11.

supply an explanation of the divergence of the Agraharis from the Agarwâlas. In Mirzapur they do allow polygamy, but with this restriction, that a man cannot marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first without her consent.

Internal organisation.

2. They have a large number of exogamous groups (*gotra*), the names of which are known only to a few of their more learned Bhâts. In Mirzapur they name seven—Sonwân; Payagwâr or Prayâgwâl; Lakhmi; Chauhatt; Gangwâni; Sethrâê; and Ajudhyâbâsi. There are also the Purbiya or Purabiya, "those of the East;" Pachhiwâha, "those of the West," and Nariyarha. To these Mr. Sherring adds, from Benares, Uttarâha, "Northern;" Tanchara; Dâlamau from the town of Dalmau, in the Râe Bareli District; Mâhuli from the Pargana of Mâhul, in Azamgarh; Ajudhyabâsi, from Ajudhya, and Chhiânawê, from a Pargana of the name in Mirzapur. In Mirzapur they regard the town of Kantit, near Bindhâchal, as their head-quarters. The levirate is recognised, but is not compulsory on the widow.

Religion.

3. Some of them are initiated in the Sri Vaishnava sect and some are Nânakpanthis. To the east of the Province their clan deities are the Pânchonpîr and Mâhabîr, and, as a rule, the difference of worship is a bar to intermarriage. Their family priests are Sarwariya Brâhmans. The use of meat and spirits is prohibited; but a few are not abstainers, and these do not intermarry with the more orthodox families.

Occupation

4. They are principally dealers in provisions (*khichari-farosh*) and they have acquired some discredit as compared with their kinsfolk the Agarwâlas by not isolating their women and allowing them to attend the shop. They also specially deal in various sweet-smelling woods which are used in religious ceremonies, such as *agara* or aloe-wood and sandal-wood (*chandana*), besides various medicines and simples. The richer members of the caste are bankers, dealers in grain, etc., or pawnbrokers. All Banyas, but not Brâhmans, or Kshatriyas, will eat *pakki* from their hands; only low castes, like Kahârs or Nâis, will eat *kachchi* cooked by them, and they will themselves eat *kachchi* only if cooked by one of their own caste or by their Brâhman Guru.

Distribution of the Agrahari Banyas according to Census, 1891.

District.	Numbers.	District.	Numbers.
Dehra Dun . . .	4	Gorakhpur . . .	6,106
Meerut . . .	26	Basti . . .	17,256
Farrukhâbâd . .	1	Azamgarh . . .	3,564
Cawnpur . . .	856	Lucknow . . .	898
Fatehpur . . .	5,708	Unâo . . .	42
Bânda . . .	3,605	Râe Bareli . . .	7,439
Allâhâbâd . . .	5,871	Faizâbâd . . .	9,713
Benares . . .	2,984	Gonda . . .	796
Mirzapur . . .	6,354	Bahrâich . . .	88
Jaunpur . . .	9,600	Sultânpur . . .	14,944
Ghâzipur . . .	744	Partâbgarh . . .	4,597
Ballia . . .	11	Barâbanki . . .	21
		Total .	1,01,228

Ahar.—A pastoral and cultivating tribe found principally in Rohilkhand along the banks of the Râmganga and west of that river. These tracts are familiarly known as Aharât. Sir H. M. Elliot [1] says that they smoke and drink in common with Jâts and Gûjars, but disclaim all connection with Ahîrs, whom they consider an inferior stock, and the Ahîrs repay the compliment. Ahars say that they are descended from Jâdonbansi Râjputs; but Ahîrs say that they are the real Jâdonbansi, being descended in a direct line from Krishna, and that Ahars are descended from the cowherds in Krishna's service, and that the inferiority of Ahars is fully proved by their eating fish and milking cows. It seems probable that the name and origin of both tribes is the same. The Collector of Mathurâ reports that the names Ahîr and Ahar appear to be used indiscriminately, and in particular in most cases the Ahîr clans of Bhatti, Deswâr and Nugâwat appear to have been recorded as Ahars. To the east of the Province Ahar appears to be occasionally used as

[1] *Supplemental Glossary*, s.v.

a synonym for Aheriya, and to designate the class of bird-catchers known as Chiryâmâr.

2. At the last census the Ahars were recorded under the main sub-castes of Bâchar, or Bâchhar, Bhirgudi, Deswâr, Guâlbans, and Jâdubans. In the returns they were recorded under no less than 976 sub castes, of which the most numerous in Bulandshahr are the Nagauri and Rajauliya; in Bareilly the Alaudiya, Baheriya, Banjâra, Bharthariya, Bhusangar, Bhijauriya, Dirhwâr, Mundiya, Ora, Rajauriya, and Siyârmâr, or "Jackal-killers;" in Budâun the Alaudiya, Baisgari, Bareriya, Bhagrê, Chhakrê, Doman, Gochhar, Ghosiya, Kara, Kathiya, Mahâpachar, Mahar, Murarkha, Ora, Rahmaniyân, Rajauriya, Sakariya, Sansariya and Warag; in Morâdâbâd the Alaudiya, Bagarha, Baksiya, Bhadariya, Bhosiya, Chaudhari, Janghârê, Mahar, Nagarha, Ora, Rajauriya, Râwat, Saila and Sakoriya; in Pilibhît the Bharthariya and Dhindhor. The analogy of many of these with the Ahîrs is obvious, and many of the names are taken from Râjput and other sources.

3. In manners and customs they appear to be identical with the Ahîrs. They have traditions of sovereignty in Rohilkhand, and possibly enjoyed considerable power during the reign of the Tomars (700 to 1150 A. D). [1]

Distribution of the Ahars according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Sub-Castes.						Total.
	Bâchar.	Bhirgudi.	Deswâr.	Guâlbans.	Jâdubans.	Others.	
Meerut . . .	...	...	...	...	...	2,682	2,682
Bulandshahr . .	...	1,953	2	73	1,420	1,765	5,213
Etah . . .	...	1,414	...	...	298	102	1,814
Bareilly . . .	5,291	335	2,040	360	649	36,083	44,758
Bijnaur . . .	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Budâun . . .	...	...	1,514	97	7	1,37,846	1,39,464
Morâdâbâd . .	...	60	2,163	203	712	31,913	35,051
Pilibhît . . .	2,419	221	74	3,789	767	5,447	12,717
Kumâon . . .	...	..	...	...	...	36	36
Tarâi . . .	8	...	145	243	856	1,221	2,473
Total .	7,718	3,983	5,938	4,770	4,097	2,17,048	2,44,166

Morâdâbâd Settlement Report, 8.

Ahban.—(Probably Sans., *ahi*, "the dragon," which may have been the tribal totem.) A sept of Râjputs chiefly found in Oudh. Their first ancestors in Oudh are said to have been Gopi and Sopi, two brothers of the Châwara race, which ruled in Anhalwâra Pâtan of Gujarât. Of the Châwaras or Chauras, Colonel Tod writes [1]:—"This tribe was once renowned in the history of India, though its name is now scarcely known, or only in the chronicles of the bard. Of its origin we are in ignorance. It belongs neither to the Solar nor to the Lunar race; and consequently we may presume it to be of Scythic origin. The name is unknown in Hîndustân, and is confined with many others originating beyond the Indus to the peninsula of Saurâshtra. If foreign to India proper, its establishment must have been at a remote period, as we find individuals of it intermarrying with the Sûryavansa ancestry of the present princes of Mewâr when this family were the Lords of Ballabhi. The capital of the Châwaras was the insular Deobandar on the coast of Saurâshtra; and the celebrated temple of Somnâth, with many others on this coast, dedicated to Balnâth, or the Sun, is attributed to this tiribe of the Sauras, or worshippers of the Sun; most probably the generic name of the tribe as well as of the peninsula. By a natural catastrophe, or, as the Hindu superstitious chroniclers will have it, as a punishment for the piracies of the prince of Deo, the element whose privileges he abused rose and overwhelmed his capital. As this coast is very low, such an occurrence is not improbable; though the abandonment of Deo might have been compelled by the irruptions of the Arabians, who at this period carried on a trade with these parts, and the plunder of some of their vessels may have brought this punishment on the Châwaras. That it was owing to some such political catastrophe, we have additional grounds for belief from the Annals of Mewâr, which state that its princes inducted the Châwaras into the seats of the power they abandoned on the continent and peninsula of Saurâshtra." After describing their subsequent history Colonel Tod goes on to say:—"This ancient connection between the Sûryavansi chiefs and the Châwaras or Chauras of Saurâshtra is still maintained after a lapse of more than one thousand years, for, though an alliance with the Râna's family is the highest honour that a Hindu prince can obtain, as being the first in rank in Hîndustân, yet is the humble Châwara sought out

[1] *Annals*, I., 109.

even at the foot of fortune's ladder, whence to carry on the blood of Râma. The present heir-apparent of a line of one hundred kings, prince Jovana Sinh, is the offspring of a Châwara woman, the daughter of a petty chieftain of Gûjarât."

2. These two leaders, Gopi and Sopi, are said to have come into Oudh shortly after the commencement of the Christian era. The former obtained the Pargana Gopamau, in Hardoi, and a descendant of the latter took possession of Pataunja, near Misrikh, in Pargana Nîmkhâr, of Sîtapur District. "This is the reputed residence of the Dryad Abbhawan, who is alleged to have given supernatural assistance to the Châwar chief, her favourite, who thenceforth took the name of Ahban. At any rate Pataunja became a centre of secular and religious power. A tribe of Kurmis and a *gotra* of Tiwâri Brâhmans have called themselves after Pataunja—a fact which tends to indicate that, although now a mere village, it was formerly the capital of a state possessing some independence."[1] The Ahban race rose afterwards to great prosperity; "how great it is impossible to state, for of all Chhatri clans they are the most mendacious, and many plans for the advancement of individuals have been foiled by this defect of theirs. The sept labours under a superstitious aversion to build houses of brick or line wells with them.

3. Of the Ahbans General Sleeman writes[2]:—"No member of the Ahban tribe ever forfeited his inheritance by changing his creed; nor did any of them, I believe, change his creed except to retain his inheritance, liberty, or life, threatened by despotic and unscrupulous rulers. They dine on the same floor, but there is a line marked off to separate those of the party who are Hindus from those who are Musalmâns. The Musalmâns have Musalmân names, and the Hindus have Hindu names, but they still go under the common patronymic name of Ahban. The Musulmâns marry into Musalmân families, and the Hindus into Hindu families of the highest class, Chauhân, Râthaur, Raikwâr, Janwâr, etc. Their conversion took place under Muhammad Farm 'Ali, *alias* Kâlapahâr, to whom his uncle Bahlol, king of Delhi, left Bahrâich as a separate inheritance a short time before his death, which occurred in 1488 A. D. This conversion stopped infanticide, as the Musalmân portion of the tribe would not associate with the Hindus who practised it."

[1] *Oudh Gazetteer*, II., 218.
[2] *Journey through Oudh*, II., 98.

4. In Sîtapur they generally supply brides to the Tomar and occasionally to the Gaur septs, while they marry girls of the Bâchhal, Janwâr, and occasionally of the Gaur. In Kheri their daughters marry Chauhâns, Kachhwâhas, Bhadauriyas, Râthaurs, and Katheriyas, and their sons marry girls of the Janwâr, Punwâr, Bais Nandwâni or Bâchhal septs. In Hardoi their *gotra* is Garga, and they give brides to the Sômbansi, Chauhân, Dhâkrê and Râthaur septs, and take brides from the Dhâkrê, Janwâr, Kachhwâha, Râikwar and Bâchhal.

Distribution of the Ahban Rájputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Agra	1	Sitapur . . .	998
Farrukhâbâd . .	125	Hardoi . . .	2,413
Shâhjahânpur . .	116	Kheri . . .	1,331
Pilibhît . . .	52	Bahraich . . .	71
Bânda	1	Sultânpur . . .	3
Ballia	16	Partâbgarh . . .	2
Lucknow . . .	333	Bârabanki . . .	520
Râe Bareli . . .	30	Total .	4,912

Aheriya.[1]—(Sans. *akhetika*, a hunter.) A tribe of hunters, fowlers, and thieves found in the Central Duâb. Their ethnological affinities have not as yet been very accurately ascertained. Sir H. M. Elliot describes them as a branch of the Dhânuks, from whom they are distinguished by not eating dead carcases, as the Dhânuks do. They are perhaps the same as the Hairi or Heri of the Hills, a colony of whom Bâz Bahâdur settled in the Tarâi as guards, where they, and some Mewâtis settled in a similar way, became a pest to the country.[2] At the same time Mr. Williams describes the Heri in Dehra Dun as aborigines and akin to the Bhoksas, with whom in appearance and character the Aheriyas of

[1] Largely based on notes collected through Mr. J. H. Monks, Deputy Collector, Aligarh.

[2] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 565, 589, and 645.

Aligarh and Etah seem to have little connection. They are almost certainly not the same as the Ahiriya or Dahiriya of the Gorakhpur Division, who are wandering cattle-dealers and apparently Ahîrs.[1] In Gorakhpur, however, there is a tribe called Aheliya, said to be descended from Dhânuks, whose chief employment is the capture of snakes, which they eat. There is again a tribe in the Panjab known as Aheri, who are very probably akin to the Aheriyas of the North-West Provinces.[2] They trace their origin to Râjputâna, and especially Jodhpur and the prairies of Bikâner. "They are vagrant in their habits, but not infrequently settle down in villages where they find employment. They catch and eat all kinds of wild animals, pure and impure, and work in reeds and grass. In addition to these occupations they work in the fields, and especially move about in gangs at harvest time in search of employment as reapers, and they cut wood and grass and work as general labourers on roads and other earthworks." Mr. Fagan describes them in Hissâr as making baskets and winnowing fans and scutching wool. He thinks that the Jodhpuriya section, who appear to have been the ancestors of the tribe, may possibly have been Râjputs, and the other Aheris are probably descended from low castes who intermarried with them. In default of any distinct anthropometrical evidence, the most probable theory seems to be that the Aheriyas of these Provinces are connected with the Bhîl and their congeners, the Baheliya, who are a race of jungle hunters and fowlers. In Aligarh, they distinctly admit that in former times, owing to a scarcity of women in the tribe, they used to introduce girls of other castes. This, they say, they have ceased to do in recent years, since the number of their females has increased. This may, perhaps, point to the prevalence of infanticide in the tribe; but in any case it is very probable that a tribe of this character should become a sort of Cave of Adullam for every one who was in debt, and every one that was in distress or discontented.

The Aligarh tradition.

2. In Aligarh they seem to be known indifferently by the names of Aheriya, Bhîl, or Karol. They call themselves the descendants of Râja Piryavart, who (though the Aheriyas know nothing about him) is probably identical with Priyavrata, who was one of the two sons of Brahma and

[1] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 572; *Gorakhpur Gazetteer*, 624.

[2] Ibbetson, *Panjab Ethnography*, Section 576.

Satarûpa. According to the mythology he was dissatisfied that only half the earth was illuminated at one time by the sun's rays; so he followed the sun seven times round the earth in his own flaming car of equal velocity, like another celestial orb, resolved to turn night into day. He was stopped by Brahma, and the ruts which were formed by his chariot wheels were the seven oceans; thus the seven continents were formed. The Aheriyas say that the son of the solar hero, whose name they have forgotten, was devoted to hunting, and for the purpose of sport took up his abode on the famous hill of Chitrakût, in the Bânda District. Here he became known as Aheriya, or "sportsman," and was the ancestor of the present tribe. Thence they emigrated to Ajudhya, and, after the destruction of that city, spread all over the country. They say that they came to Aligarh from Cawnpur some seven hundred years ago. They still keep up this tradition of their origin by periodical pilgrimages to Chitrakût and Ajudhya.

Tribal council.

3. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*), constituted partly by election and partly by nomination among the members of the tribe. They decide all matters affecting the tribe, but are not empowered to take up social questions *suo motu*. They have a permanent, hereditary chairman (*sarpanch*). If the son of a deceased chairman happen to be a minor, one of the members of the council is appointed to act for him during his minority. At the same time, if the new chairman, on coming of age, is found to be incompetent, he may be removed, and a new candidate selected by the votes of the council.

Marriage rules.

4. They have no exogamous or endogamous sub-divisions. The marriage of first cousins is prohibited, and a man cannot be married in a family to which during memory a bride from his family has been married. Difference of religious belief is no bar to marriage, provided there has been no conversion to another faith, such as that of Christians or Muhammadans. They can have as many as four wives at the same time, and may marry two sisters together. An apparent survival of marriage by capture is found in the ceremony which follows marriage when the newly-married pair are taken to a tank. The wife strikes her husband with a thin switch of the acacia (*babûl*). She is then brought into the house, where the relations of her husband give her presents for letting them see her face (*munh-dikhâi*). The senior wife rules the household, and those junior to her have to

do her bidding. They live, as a rule, on good terms, and it is only under very exceptional circumstances that separate houses are provided for them. The age for marriage varies from seven to twenty. Any marriage is voidable at the wish of the parties with the approval of the tribal council. The match is arranged by some relation of the youth with the help of a Brâhman and barber. When the parties are grown up, their wishes are considered, but in the case of minors the match is arranged by their friends or guardians. There is no regular bride price; but if the girl's father is very poor the friends of the boy assist him to defray the cost of the marriage feast. In other cases the girl's father is supposed to give something as dowry (*jahes*). As to the ownership of this there is no fixed rule; but it is understood that the presents which the bride receives at the *munh-dikhâi* ceremony, above described, become her private property. Leprosy, impotency, idiocy, or mutilation occurring after marriage are considered reasonable grounds for its annulment; but if any physical defects were disclosed before the marriage, they are not held to be a ground for dissolving the union. Charges of adultery are brought before the tribal council, and, if proved, a divorce is declared. Divorced women can marry again by the *karâo* form; but women divorced for adultery, though such a course is possible, are seldom remarried in the tribe. Children born of a father or mother who are not members of the tribe are called *lendra*, and are not admitted to caste privileges.

Widow marriage.

5. When a man desires to marry a widow, he provides for her a suit of clothes, a set of glass bangles (*châri*) and a pair of toe-rings (*bichhua*). The council is assembled and the woman is asked if she accepts her suitor. If she agrees, an auspicious day is selected by the advice of a Brâhman, and the new husband dresses her in the clothes and ornament and takes her home. After this he gives a feast to the brotherhood. In this form of marriage, known as *karâo* or *dhareja*, there is no procession (*bârât*), and no walking round the sacred fire (*bhanwar*). The levirate is enforced unless the younger brother of her late husband is already married, in which case the widow may live with an outsider. If she marries a stranger she loses her right to maintenance from the estate of her first husband, and also the guardianship of his children, unless they are of tender age. There is no trace of the fiction that children of the levir are attributed to his deceased brother.

Birth ceremonies.

6. When pregnancy is ascertained the caste men are assembled and some gram and wheat boiled with molasses is distributed. Contrary to prevailing Hindu custom the woman is delivered on a bed with her feet turned towards the Ganges. The midwife is usually a sweeper woman, and after delivery her place as nurse is taken by a barber woman. When the child is born molasses is distributed to friends; and women sing songs and play on a brass tray (*thâli*). On the sixth day (*chhathi*) they worship Sati, and throw a little cakes and incense into the fire in her honour. On the twelfth day the mother is bathed, and seated in the court-yard inside a sacred square (*chauk*) made by a Brâhman, with wheat-flour. He then names the child, and purifies the house by sprinkling water all about it and reciting texts (*mantra*). The caste-men are feasted, and the women sing and dance. This is known as the *Dashtaun*. But if the child happen to be born in the asterism (*nakshatra*) of Mûl the Dashtaun is performed on the nineteenth or twenty-first day. Leaves of twenty-one trees or plants, such as the lime, mango, *siras*, *jámun*, pomegranate, *nim*, custard apple, etc., are collected. They also bring water from twenty-one wells, and little bits of lime stone (*kankari*) from twenty-one different villages. These things are all put into an earthen jar which is filled with water, and with this the mother is bathed. Grain and money are given to Brâhmans, and the purification is concluded. If twins are born, the father and mother sit together inside the sacred square on the day of the Dashtaun, and the Brâhman ties an amulet (*rákhi*), made of thread, round the wrists of both to keep off ill-luck.

Adoption.

7. On an auspicious day selected by a Pandit the father of the boy makes him over to the person adopting him. The adopter then dresses the boy in new clothes and gives him sweetmeats. A feast is then given to the clansmen. The child to be adopted must be under the age of ten.

Marriage ceremonies.

8. The marriage ceremonies begin with the betrothal, which is finished by the boy eating some betel sent to him by a barber from the house of the bride. It seems to be the custom in many cases to betroth children in their infancy. Then comes the *lagan*, consisting of cash, clothes, a cocoanut and sweets sent by the father of the bride with a letter fixing the marriage day; inside this is placed some *dûb* grass. The Brâhman recites verses (*mantra*) as he gives these things

to the boy seated in a sacred square, while the women beat a small drum and sing songs. This goes on the whole night (*ratjaga*). Next follows the anointing (*ubtana*) of the bride and bridegroom. During this time the pair are not allowed to leave the house through fear of the Evil Eye and the attacks of malignant spirits. On the day fixed in the *lagan* some mango and *chhonkor* leaves, some turmeric and two pice are tied on a bamboo, which is fixed in the court-yard by some relation on the female side, or by the priest. He is given some money, clothes, or grain, which is called *neg*. Then a feast of food, cooked without butter, known as the *markwa*, or "pavilion," is given to the friends. The bridegroom is dressed in a coat (*jáma*) of yellow-coloured cloth, and wears a head-dress (*maur*) made of palm leaves. When they reach the bride's village, they are received in a hut (*janwásа*), prepared for them. The bridegroom's father sends, by a connection (*mán*), some sharbat to the bride, and she sends food in return: this is known as *barauniya*. After this the pair walk seven times round the sacred fire, and a fire sacrifice (*homa*) is offered. Then follows the "giving away" of the bride (*kanyádán*), and the pair are taken into an inner room, where they eat sweetmeats and rice together; this is known as *sakkaur*, or *confarreatio*. A shoe is tied up in cloth, and the women try to induce the boy to worship it as one of the local godlings. If he falls into the trap there is great merriment. The knot which has been tied in the clothes of the bride and bridegroom is then untied, his crown is taken off, and the marriage being over he returns to the *janwásа*. Among poor people there is no *lagan* and no betrothal. Some money is paid to the bride's father, and the girl is taken to her husband's house and married there. No pavilion is erected, and the ceremony consists in making the girl and boy walk round the sacred fire, which is lighted in the court-yard. Girls that are stolen or seduced are usually married in this way, which is known as *dola*.

Disposal of the dead.

9. Rich people cremate the dead; poorer people bury, or consign the corpse to some river. The dead are buried face downwards to bar the return of the ghost; the feet face the north; some bury without a shroud. After cremation the ashes are usually taken to the Ganges, but some people leave them at the pyre. Fire is provided by a sweeper, who gets a small fee and the bamboos of the bier as his perquisite. After the cremation is over, some on their way home bathe, but this is not essential. After they bathe

they collect a little *kusa* grass and throw it on the road by which the corpse was removed. Then they throw some pebbles in the direction of the pyre. The popular explanation of this practice is, in order that "affection for the dead may come to an end" (*moh chhût jâwé*); the real object is to bar the return of the ghost. On the third or seventh day after the cremation the son or person who has lighted the pyre shaves; then he has some large cakes (*tikiya*) cooked, and some is placed on a leaf of the *dhâk* tree (*butea frondosa*), and laid in a barley field for the support of the ghost. The clansmen are feasted on the thirteenth day; thirteen pieces of betel-nut and thirteen pice are placed, one in each of thirteen pots, and this, with some grain, is divided among thirteen Brâhmans. Then a fire-sacrifice is made. There is no regular *srâddha*; but they worship the souls of the dead collectively in the month of Kuâr, and throw cakes to the crows, who represent the souls of the dead.

Ceremonial pollution.

10. The death pollution lasts for thirteen days; after childbirth for ten, and after menstruation for three days. The first two are removed by regular purification; the third by bathing and washing the hair of the head.

Religion.

11. Devi is their special object of worship, but Mekhâsur is the tribal godling. His name means "Ram demon," but they can give no account of him. His shrine is at Gangîri, in the Atraula Tahsîl. He is worshipped on the eighth and ninth of Baisâkh, with sweets and an occasional goat. An Ahîr takes the offering. Zâhir Pîr is the well known Gûga. His day is the ninth of the dark half of Bhâdon, and his offering cloth, cloves, ghi and cash, which are taken by a Muhammadan Khâdim. Miyân Sâhib, the saint of Amroha, in the Morâdâbâd District, is worshipped on Wednesday and Saturday with an offering of five pice, cloves, incense, and cakes, which are taken by the faqîrs who are the attendants (*mujâwir*) at his tomb. They also make a goat sacrifice known as *kandûri*, and consume the meat themselves. Jakhiya has a square platform at Karas, in the Iglâs Tahsîl, at the door of a sweeper's hut. His day is the sixth of the dark half of Mâgh, and his offering is two pice and some betel and sweets. These are taken by the sweeper officiant. They also sometimes sacrifice a pig, and the sweeper rubs a little of the blood on the children's foreheads in order to ward

off evil spirits. Barai is a common village godling. He is represented by a few stones under a tree; his offering is a *chhakka* or six cowries, some betel and sweets, which are taken by a Brâhman Panda. This godling is the special protector of women and children. His days are the seventh of the light half of Chait and the seventh of the light half of Kuâr. Mâta, the small-pox goddess, and Masâni, the spirit of the burning ground, are represented by some stones placed on a platform under a tree. They are worshipped on the same days as Barai by women and children, and a Brâhman takes the offerings. Châmar also has his abode under a tree, and is worshipped on the first Monday of every Hindu month. His offering is a wheat cake; and a ram is offered in serious cases, and consumed by the worshippers. When cattle are sick or lose their milk, a little unboiled milk is poured on the shrine. Bûrha Bâba has his shrine at Chândausi, in the Khair Tahsîl. His day is the third of the light half of Baisâkh, and he is presented with cloth, betel and sweets, which are taken by a Brâhman. Sâh Jamâl, who appears to be one of the Pânch Pîr, has a shrine near the city of Aligarh. The offerings here are taken by a Muhammadan Khâdim.

Patron Saint.

12. Vâlmîki, the author of the Râmâyana, is a sort of patron saint of the tribe. According to the Aheriya legend Vâlmîki was a great hunter and robber. After he had taken many lives he one day met the saint Nârada Muni in the jungle. As he was aiming his arrow at the Rishi, Nârada asked him if he knew what a sin he was committing. At last Nârada convinced him of his wickedness and tried to teach him to say *Râma! Râma!* but for a long time he could get no nearer it than *Mâra! Mâra!* (Kill! kill!) Finally his devotion won him pardon, and he became learned enough to compose the Râmâyana. Hence he is the saint of the Aheriyas.

House worship.

13. Some make a house shrine dedicated to Mekhâsur in a room set apart for the purpose. Women regularly married are permitted to join in this worship, but unmarried girls and *kardo* wives are excluded. The sacrifices to these tribal godlings are done by some member of the family, not by a regular priest. In the case of Miyân Sahib and Jakhiya they sometimes release the victim after cutting its ear; in all other cases the animal is killed, and the flesh eaten by the worshippers. Most of their festivals are those common to all Hindus, which will be often mentioned. There is a

curious survival of human sacrifice in the observance at the festival known as the Sakat Chauth, when they make the image of a human being of boiled rice, and at night cut it up and eat it. They venerate the pîpal tree, and have a special worship of the âonla (*phyllanthus emblica*) on the eleventh of the light half of Phâlgun. Women bow down before the tree and offer eight small cakes and water at noon. At the Nâgpanchami women draw pictures of snakes on the walls of their houses and throw milk over them. Men take milk to the jungle and place it near the hole of a snake. Their favourite tattoo mark is *Sîtâ ki rasoi*, or a representation of the cooking room of Sîta, which is still shown on the Chitra Kûta hill. Their chief oath is on the Ganges, and this is made more binding if the person taking it stands under a pîpal tree or holds a leaf of it in his hand.

Social rules.

14. They cannot eat or drink with any other caste; but they will eat *kachchi* cooked by Ahîrs, Barhais, Jts, and Kahârs; they eat *pakki*, cooked by a Nâi, but he will not eat *pakki* cooked by them.

Industries.

15. Their industries are what might have been expected from their partially nomad life. Like the Musahar of the Eastern Districts they make the leaf platters which Hindus use at meals (see *Bâri*). They also collect reeds for basket-making, etc., honey and gum from the *dhâk* and acacia, which they sell in the towns. But the business which they chiefly carry on is burglary and highway robbery, and they are about the most active and determined criminals in the Province. A band of Aheriyas, arrested for committing a highway robbery on the Grand Trunk Road, gave the following account of themselves to Colonel Williams [1]:— "Our children require no teaching. At an early age they learn to steal. At eight or nine years of age they commence plundering from the fields, and as opportunities offer take brass vessels or anything they can pick up. So that by fifteen or sixteen they are quite expert, and fit to join in our expeditions. Gangs consist of from ten to twenty. Sometimes two gangs meet on the road and work together. I have known as many as forty in one highway robbery. Our leaders (*Jamadâr*) are elected for their skill, intelligence, and daring. A good Jamadâr has no lack of followers. The Jamadâr collects his band, gets an advance from Banyas to support his followers during the expedition, which money

1 *Papers on Mina Dacoits and other Criminal Classes of India*, I., *sqq.*

is repaid with interest, and our families are never allowed to want while we are absent. We assemble in the village and start together, but disperse into parties of two or three to avoid observation, and generally state that we are Kachhis, Lodhas, or even Râjputs, going to Benares on pilgrimage. We do this as our tribe has a bad name. We also avoid putting up at sarâis, and generally encamp 100 or 200 paces from the high road to watch travellers, carts, and vans passing. We all carry bludgeons, rarely weapons; one or two in the gang may have a sword. Our mode of proceeding in highway robberies is to look out for vans, carts, or camels laden with cloth: finding such as are likely to afford a booty, the members of the gang are warned to follow. The most expert proceed ahead to fix a spot for the attack. We have followed camels for three or four days before an opportunity offered. We commence by pelting the guards with pieces of limestone (*kankar*) or stones. This generally causes them to fly; but, if not, we assemble and threaten them with our bludgeons. If they still resist, we give up the attack. We, however, rarely fail, and at the first shower of *kankar* the guards all fly. If any of our gang are captured, it is the business of our Jamadâr to remain at hand, or depute some intelligent man of the band for this special duty: no expense is spared to effect their release. We find the Police readily accessible. If separated, we recognise each other by the jackal's cry; but we have no peculiar terms or slang to distinguish each other. We take omens. Deer and the *sâras* crane on the right, jackals, asses, and white birds on the left, while proceeding on an expedition, are highly propitious. Unfavourable omens cause the expedition to be deferred until they become otherwise. On returning, if jackals, asses, and white birds appear on the left, or deer, *sâras*, or owls on the right, we rejoice exceedingly, and fear no evil. Some of our Jamadârs are so brave that they don't care for omens. We dispose of our booty through middlemen (*arhatiya*), who sell it to the great Mahâjans. Of course they know it is plundered property from the price they give; and how could we have silk and fine linen for sale if not plundered? Our zamindârs know we live by plunder, and take a fourth of the spoil. Sometimes they take such clothes as suit them. On returning from a highway robbery we use great expedition, travelling all night. During the day the plunder is concealed in dry wells; we disperse and hide in the fields. Two or three of the sharpest of the gang go to the nearest village for food, generally prepared food. We soon become

acquainted with all the sharp men on the road. One rogue readily finds a companion, and we thus get information of parties travelling and suitable booty. Though we pilfer and thieve wherever we can, we prefer highway robbery, as it is more profitable, and if the booty is cloth, easily disposed of. Always thieves by profession, we did not take to highway robbery till the great famine of 1833. Gulba and Suktua, Baheliyas, first opened the way for us, and taught us this easy mode of living. These two are famed men, and resided near Mirzapur, in Pargana Jalesar (now in the Etah District). The Baheliyas and Aheriyas of Mirzapur soon took a leading part, and were highly distinguished. They are noted among us as expert thieves and highway robbers." Since this was written the Aheriyas have begun to use the railway in their expeditions, and are known to have made incursions as far as the Panjab, Central India, Bengal, and Bombay. The Etah branch of the tribe is under the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act. Curiously enough they have escaped record at the last Census.

Distribution of Aheriyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . .	125	Morâdâbâd . . .	481
Meerut . . .	1,437	Pilibhît . . .	29
Bulandshahr . .	2,905	Hamîrpur . . .	73
Aligarh . . .	9,877	Benares . . .	668
Mathura . . .	765	Mirzapur . . .	6
Agra	4	Jaunpur . . .	129
Mainpuri . . .	781	Lucknow . . .	2,266
Bijnor . . .	229	Faizâbâd . . .	4
		Total .	19,768

Ahîr[1]:—An important and widely-distributed caste of herdsmen and agriculturists, found in large numbers throughout the Province. According to the Brâhmanical tradition, as given by Manu, they are descended by a Brâhman from a woman of the Ambastha,

[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur, and notes by Pandit Baldeo Prasâda, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur, and the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Agra.

or tribe of physicians. "In the Brahma Purâna it is said that they are descended from a Kshatriya father and a woman of the Vaisya caste; but on the question of the descent of the various tribes, the sacred books, as in many other matters, differ very much from each other, and none are to be implicitly trusted. This pastoral tribe of the Yâdubansi stock was formerly of much greater consideration in India than it is at present. In the Râmâyana and Mahâbhârata the Abhîras in the west are spoken of; and in the Purânik Geography, the country on the western coast of India, from the Tâpti to Devagarh is called Abhîra, or the region of cowherds. When the Kattis arrived in Gujarât, in the eighth century, they found the greater part of the country in the occupation of the Ahîrs. The name of Asirgarh, which Farishta and Khizâna Amîra say is derived from Asa, Ahîr, shows that the tribe was of some importance in the Dakkhin also, and there is no doubt that we have trace of the name in the Abiria of Ptolemy, which he places above Patalene. Ahîrs were also Râjas of Nepâl at the beginning of our era, and they are perhaps connected with the Pâla, or shepherd dynasty, which ruled in Bengal from the 9th to the latter part of the 11th century, and which, if we may place trust in monumental inscriptions, were for some time the universal rulers of India."[1]

Origin of the tribe.

2. On the tribe to the east Mr. Risley writes[2]:—"The traditions of the caste bear a highly imaginative character, and profess to trace their descent from the god Krishna, whose relations with the milk-maids of Brindâban play an important part in Hindu mythology. Krishna himself is supposed to have belonged to the tribe of Yâdavas, or descendants of Yadu, a nomadic race, who graze cattle and make butter, and are believed to have made an early settlement in the neighbourhood of Mathura. In memory of this tradition, one of their sub-castes, in the North-Western Provinces, is called Yadu, or Jadubansi, to the present day. Another story, quoted by Dr. Buchanan, makes out the Guâlas to be Vaisyas, who were degraded in consequence of having introduced castration among their herds, and members of the caste who are disposed to claim this distinguished ancestor may lay stress upon the fact that the tending of flocks and herds is mentioned by the authorities among the duties of the Vaisya order. Taken as a whole, the Guâla traditions hardly can be said to do

[1] Sir H. M. Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, s. v.
[2] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 232.

more than render it probable that one of their earliest settlements was in the neighbourhood of Mathura, and that this part of the country was the centre of distribution of the caste. The large functional group known by the name Guâla seems to have been recruited not merely by the diffusion along the Ganges valley of the semi-Aryan Guâlas of the North-Western Provinces, but also by the inclusion in the caste of pastoral tribes who were not Aryans at all. These, of course, would form distinct sub-castes, and would not be admitted to the *jus connubii* with the original nucleus of the caste. The great differences of make and feature which may be observed among Guâlas seem to bear out this view, and to show that whatever may have been the original constituents of the caste, it now comprises several heterogeneous elements. Thus, even in a district so far from the original home of the caste as Sinhbhûm, we find Colonel Dalton remarking that the features of the Mathurâbâsi Guâlas are high, sharp and delicate, and they are of a light brown complexion. Those of the Magadha sub-caste, on the other hand, are undefined and coarse. They are dark-complexioned, and have large hands and feet. Seeing the latter standing in a group with some Sinhbhûm Kols, there is no distinguishing one from the other. There has, doubtless, been much intermixture of blood. These remarks illustrate both the processes to which the growth of the caste is due. They show how representatives of the original tribe have spread to districts very remote from their original centre, and how at the same time people of alien race who followed pastoral occupations have become attached to the caste, and are recognized by a sort of fiction as having belonged to it all along."

3. Another account represents them to be the descendants of the Abars, one of the Scythian tribes who in the second or first century before Christ entered India from the north-west, or, and this is perhaps more probable, they are regarded as an old Indian or half-Indian race who were driven south before the Scythian invasion. That they were very early settlers in these Provinces and the neighbourhood is certain. The Nepâl legend[1] states that the Kirâtas obtained possession of the valley after expelling the Ahîra. In the Hindu drama of the Toy-Cart,[2] the successful usurper who overthrows Pâlaka, King of Ujjain, is Aryaka, of the cowherd caste; and similarly in the Buddhist chronicles Chandragupta is described as a

[1] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 364.
[2] Wheeler, *History of India*, Vol. III., 283, *sqq.*

cowherd of princely race. In Oudh they appear to have been early, probably aboriginal, inhabitants before the Râjput invasion. They are also said to be closely connected with the Bhars, and they attend at great numbers on the occasion of a fair at Dalmau in the Râe Bareli district held in honor of the Bhar hero Dal, who has been, in connection with that tribe shown to be mythical.[1] General Cunningham[2] assumes from the reference to them in Manu that they must certainly have been in India before the time of Alexander, and that as they are very numerous in the eastern districts of Mirzapur, Benares, and Shâhâbâd, they cannot possibly, like the Jâts and Gûjars, be identified with the Indo-Scythians, whose dominions did not extend beyond the Upper Ganges. It is merely a conjecture of Mr. Nesfield that the Kor or Kur sub-caste is derived from the Kols of the Vindhyan plateau.[3]

4. At the same time, as might have been expected, some of their traditions indicate a tendency to aspire to a higher origin than those which would associate them with menial tribes such as the Bhars. Thus in Bulandshahr[4] they claim to be Chauhân Râjputs. The Rohilkhand branch say that they came from Hânsi Hissâr about 700 years ago. In Gorakhpur the Bargaha sub-caste provide wet-nurses in Râjput families[5]: others call themselves Jâts and refer their origin to Bharatpur, while they call themselves Kshatriyas. There is again a very close connection between the Dauwa sub-caste and the Bundela Râjputs for whom they provide wet-nurses.[6] In Azamgarh[7] they claim to have been once Kshatriyas who ruled the country; in Mainpuri[8] they assert that they are descendants of Râna Katîra of Mewâr, who had been driven from his own country by an invasion of the Muhammadans and took refuge with Digpâla, Râja of Mahâban, whose daughter, Kânh Kunwar his son subsequently married, and by her became the ancestor of the Pâthak sub-caste. They are the highest clan in that part of the country, and there is a ridiculous legend in explanation of their name, that Râna Katîra was attacked by the King of Delhi,

[1] Elliot, *Chronicles of Undo*, 20; *Râe Bareli Settlement Report*, 15.
[2] *Archæological Reports*, II., 81.
[3] *Brief View*, 106.
[4] *Census Report*, 1865, *Appendix* 21.
[5] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 467.
[6] *Gazetteer, North-Western Provinces*, I., 160.
[7] *Settlement Report*, 33.
[8] Growse, *Mathura*. 252.

and that out of the twelve gates (*phâtak*) of his capital only one held out to the end. When the enemy had retired, the Râna, in order to commemorate the signal bravery shown by the guard of the twelfth gate, issued a decree that they and their descendants should be for ever designated by the title of Pâthak or Phâtak.

Internal structure.

5. At the last Census the Ahîrs were recorded in eighteen main sub-castes—Benbansi, the offspring of Râja Vena, the famous sinner of the mythology; Bhirgudi; Dauwa; Dhindhor; Gaddi; Gamel; Ghorcharha, "riders on horses;" Ghosi, or "Shouters;" Gûjar; Guâlbans; Jâdubans, "of the Yâdava race;" Kamariha; Khunkhuniya; Kur; Nandabans, "of the race of Nanda," the foster-father of Krishna; Pâthak; Rajauriya, and Râwat. The internal classification of the Ahîrs was very carefully worked out by Sir H. M. Elliot, who writes:—"There appear to be three grand divisions among them,—the Nandbans, the Jâdubans and the Guâlbans, which acknowledge no connection except that of being all Ahîrs. Those of the Central Duâb usually style themselves Nandbans; those to the west of the Jamuna and the Upper Duâb, Jâdubans; and those in the Lower Duâb and Benares, Guâlbans. The latter seem to have no sub-divisions or *gotras*. The principal *gotras* of the Nandbans are Samarphalla, Kishnaut, Bhagta, Bilehniya, Diswâr, Nagauwa, Kanaudha, Dûnr, Râwat, Tenguriya, Kur, Kamariya, Barausiya, Mujwâr, Dahima, Nirban, Kharkhari, Dirhor, Sitauliya, Jarwariya, Barothi, Gonda and Phâtak—amounting in all to eighty-four. In Bighoto, besides many of these there are the Molak, Santoriya, Khosiya, Khalliya, Loniwâl, Aphariya or Aphiriya, Maila, Mhaila, Khoro, Sesotiya, Gandwâl, Gird, Bhamsara, Janjariya, Kankauriya and Niganiya, amounting in all to sixty-four. Many of the two last-named clans have been converted to the Muhammadan faith, and are known as Rângars. The two villages whence they derive their name are celebrated in local legends for turbulence and contumacy.

Dihli ten paintîs kos Kanhaur Nigâna; Apni boi âp khâen, hâkim ne na den dâna.—"Thirty-five kos from Delhi are Kanhaur and Nigâna. There the people eat what they sow, and do not give a grain to the Government."

6. Amongst these the Khoro rank first; but their claim to superiority is denied by the Aphiriya, who have certainly in modern times attained the highest distinction. They all, including the

Khoro, intermarry on terms of equality, avoiding, like all other Ahîrs, only the four *gotras* nearest related. A man, for instance, cannot marry into his father's, mother's paternal or maternal *gotras*; and no intermarriages take place between distant clans. Thus those of the Duâb and Bighoto hold little or no personal intercourse, and each declares the other an inferior stock."

7. In Agra we find the Guâlbans, Nandbans, Kamariha and Ghusiya. The Nandbans call themselves the offspring of Nanda, the foster-father of Krishna, and the Guâlbans say that they are descended from the Gopis who danced with the god in the woods of Brindâban and Gokul. The Nandbans women wear bangles (*chúri*) of glass (*kánch*a) and white clothes. Those of the Guâlbans wear bangles of lac and coloured or embroidered dresses. All of them, at the time of marriage, except the Ghusiya, wear a nuptial crown (*maur*) made of paper. That of the Ghusiyas is made of the leaves of the palm (*khajúr*). The Kamariya sub-caste have a curious custom of hanging up cakes made of wheat-flour in the marriage pavilion while the ceremony is going on. All of them admit widow marriage, and these sub-castes are strictly endogamous. In Cawnpur the sub-castes are Nandbans, Jâdubans, Kishnaut, Kanaujiya, Ghosi, Guâlbans and Illahâbâsi, or residents of Allahâbâd. In the east of the Province there is a different set of sub-castes. Thus in Mirzapur they are divided into the Churiya Guâl, who are so called because their women wear bangles (*chúri*); Mathiya, who wear brass rings (*máthi*); Kishnaut; Maharwa, or Mahalwa; Dharora; Bhurtiya; and Bargâhi. The Kishnaut sub-caste allege that it was among them that the infant Krishna was nursed. The Maharwas or Mahalwas tell the following story to account for their name:— "Once upon a time there lived an Ahîr at Agori, the famous fortress of the Chandel Râjputs, on the river Son. He was rich and devoted to gambling. The Râja of Agori also loved the dice. One day they were playing, when the Ahîr lost all his property, and, finally, staked his unborn child. He lost this also. When the Ahîr's wife brought forth a girl the Râja claimed her, and the Ahîr was called Maharwa, because his daughter had to enter the harem (*máhal*) of the Râja." Another version of the legend connects it with the celebrated Lorik cycle. The Ahîr maiden is said to have been saved by the hero, and took the name of Maharwa because she was saved from the harem.

8. Another legend tells the origin of the Bhurtiyas in this way:— "Once upon a time Sri Krishna blew his flute in the forest and all

the girls of Brindâban rushed to meet him. They were so excited at the prospect of meeting him that they did not wait to adjust their dress or jewelry. One of them appeared with brass rings (*máṭhi*) on one wrist and lac bangles (*chúṛi*) on the other; so she was called by way of a joke Bhurtiya or 'careless,' and the name has clung to her descendants ever since." In memory of this the women of this sub-caste wear both kinds of ornaments.

9. Bargâhi is said, again, in Persian to mean "one who attends a royal court," and the name is derived from the fact that the women of this sub-caste used to serve as wet-nurses in the families of noblemen. Among these the Churiya and Maharwa intermarry; all the others are endogamous.

10. The detailed Census returns enumerate no less than 1,767 varieties of Ahîrs. Of these, those most largely represented are—in Bulandshahr, the Bhatti, Nirban and Ahar; in Aligarh, the Chakiya, Garoriya; in Mainpuri, the Girdharpuriya and Tulasi; in Etah, the Barwa, Bharosiya, Deswâr, Dholri, Kanchhariya, and Siyarê; in Bareilly, the Chaunsathiya or "sixty-fours;" in Morâdâbâd, the Deswâr; in Shâhjahânpur, the Bâchhar, which is the name of a well-known Râjput sept, Bakaiya, Birhariya, Chanwar, Darswâr, Dohar, Kharê, Katha, Katheriya, Manhpachchar, Râna, Rohendi and Sisariya; in Cawnpur, the Darswâr and Sakarwâr, the latter of which is the title of a Râjput sept; in Fatehpur, the Raghubansi; in Bânda, the Bharauniya; in Hamîrpur, the Rautela; in Jhânsi, the Gondiya, Mewâr and Rautela; in Mirzapur, the Kishnaut; in Ballia, the Kanaujiya, Kishnaut, Majraut; in Gorakhpur, the Bargâh, Kanaujiya, Kishnaut, and Majnûn; in Basti, the Kanaujiya; in Lucknow, the Raghubansi; in Unâo, the Gel, Gokuliya, and Guâlbansi; in Sîtapur, the Râjbansi; in Hardoi, the Kauriya; in Sultânpur, the Dhuriya; in Partâbgarh, the Sohar; in Bârabanki, the Bâchhar, Dharbansi, Muriyâna and Râjbansi.

The Lorik legend.

11. No account of the Ahîrs would be complete without some reference to the famous tribal legend of Lorik, which is most popular among them and is sung at all their ceremonies. There are various recensions of it, and it is most voluminous and embodies a number of different episodes. In what is, perhaps, the most common form of the legend, Siudhar, an Ahîr of the East country, marries Chandain, and is cursed with the loss of all passion by Pârvati. His wife forms an attachment for a neighbour named Lorik and elopes with him. The husband pursues, fails to induce her to return, and fights Lorik, by whom he

is defeated. The pair then go on and finally meet Mahâpatiya, a Dusâdh, the chief of the gamblers. He and Lorik play till the latter loses everything, including his mistress. She urges that her jewels did not form part of the stake, and induces them to try another throw of the dice. She stands opposite Mahâpatiya and distracts his attention by exposing her person to him. Finally Lorik wins everything back. The girl then tells Lorik how she had been insulted by the low-caste man, who saw her exposed, and Lorik with his two-maund sword cuts off the gambler's head, when it and his body were turned into stone, and are to be seen to this day. Lorik and Chandain then continued their wanderings, and he attacks and defeats the King of Hardui near Mongir. The Râja is afterwards assisted by the King of Kalinga, defeats Lorik, and imprisons him in a dungeon, whence he is released by the intercession of the goddess Durga, recovers the kingdom and his mistress Chandain, and after some years of happiness returns to his native land.

12. Meanwhile the brother of Lorik, Semru, had been attacked and killed by the Kols and all his cattle plundered. Lorik takes a bloody revenge from the enemy. Before he left home with Chandain, Lorik had been betrothed to an Ahîr girl named Satmanain, who by this time had become a handsome woman, who lived in the hope that Lorik would some day return and claim her. Lorik was anxious to test her fidelity, and when he came near home, concealed his identity. When she and the other woman came to sell milk in his camp he laid down a loin cloth at the entrance. All the other women stepped over it, but such was the delicacy of Satmanain that she refused. Lorik was pleased, and, without her knowledge, filled her basket with jewels, and covered them over with rice. When she returned, her sister found the jewels, and taxed her with receiving them as the price of her honour. She indignantly denied the accusation, and the son of Semru, the dead brother of Lorik, set out to avenge on him the insult to his aunt. Finally, the matter was cleared up, and Lorik reigned for many years in happiness with his wives Chandain and Satmanain. But the god Indra determined to destroy his virtue, and he induced Durga to take the form of his mistress and tempt him. When he gave way to the temptation and touched her she struck him so that his face turned completely round. Overcome by grief and shame he went to Kâsi (Benares), and there they were all turned into stone, and sleep the sleep of magic at the Manikarnika Ghât.[1]

[1] *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 290, *sqq.*

Marriage rules.

13. As has been already said, the sub-castes are endogamous. To the west the *gotra* system is in full force and marriage is barred in the four *gotras* of father, mother, grand-father, and grand-mother. To the east few of the rural Ahîrs seem to know anything about their *gotras*. They will not marry in a family to which a sister has been given in marriage until three generations have passed. In Behâr, according to Mr. Risley, "the Brâhmanical *gotras* are unknown, and marriage among the Guâlas is regulated by a very large number of exogamous groups (*mûl*) of the territorial type. In some places where the existing *mûls* have been found inconveniently large, and marriage has been rendered unduly difficult, certain *mûls* have broken up into *purukhs* or sub-sections. Where this has taken place a man may marry within the *mûl*, but not within the *purukh*, the smaller and more convenient group." He goes on to explain at length how this rule of exogamy works in practice, and how it is necessary to supplement it by the standard formula of exogamy common to many of the lower tribes. Of this elaborate system no trace has been found as yet among the western Ahîrs, but it is quite possible that further local enquiry may supply examples of this, or some analogous rule of exogamy prevailing in these Provinces.

Tribal council.

14. The internal affairs of the caste are managed by a *panchâyat* or tribal council. As an instance of its working, in Mirzapur it is presided over by a permanent chairman (*chaudhari*) and, as a rule, meets only on the occasion of weddings and funeral ceremonies, when current business is brought before it. The cases usually heard are connected with immorality, eating with a prohibited caste, and family disputes about inheritance and property. The accused person during the hearing of the case is not allowed to sit on the tribal mat with his brethren. The president uses the members only as assessors, and after enquiry announces the decision. A person found guilty of immorality is usually fined eight rupees, and has to supply two feasts for the brethren. Out of the fine the chairman receives one rupee, and the rest is spent in purchasing vessels and other furniture for use at the meetings. If a man is convicted of an intrigue with a woman of the tribe, he is fined only one rupee and has to give two dinners to the brotherhood. Any one who disobeys the orders of the chairman is beaten with shoes in the presence of the council and is excluded from all caste privi-

leges until he submits. Instances of the contempt of the orders of the council are seldom heard of.

15. To the west of the Province polygamy is allowed, but it is discouraged. In Mirzapur it is said to be prohibited without the express sanction of the council, which is given only in exceptional cases, such as the hopeless illness or barrenness of the first wife, and if a man ventures to take a second wife without sanction, he is very severely dealt with. There seems to be very little doubt that along the banks of the Jumna polyandry prevails in the fraternal form. That it does exist among some of these tribes is shown by the common saying, *Do khasam ki joru, chausar ki got* ("The wife of two husbands is no better than a draught in backgammon"). Among the Ahîrs of this part of the country it has doubtless originated in the custom of one member of the family remaining away grazing cattle often for a long time. It is very difficult to obtain information about it, as, wherever it exists, the custom is strongly reprobated. The eastern Ahîrs agree in denying its existence, and express the utmost horror at the very idea of such a family arrangement.

Marriage.

16. Marriage, except among the very poorest members of the caste, takes place in infancy. As an example of the arrangements the customs in the Mirzapur District may be described. The match is generally settled by the brother-in-law of the boy's father or by the brother-in-law of the latter. In all cases the assent of the parents on both sides is essential. The father of the boy pays as the bride price two rupees in cash, two garments, and five *sers* of treacle and salt. No physical defect, which was disclosed at the time of the betrothal, is sufficient to invalidate the marriage. A husband may put away his wife for habitual infidelity; but a single lapse from virtue, provided the paramour be a member of the caste, is not seriously regarded. Widow marriage is permitted as well as the levirate; but if the widow does not take up with the younger brother of her late husband, she usually marries a widower. Children of virgin brides and widows married a second time rank equally for purposes of inheritance; but it has been judicially decided[1] that an Ahîr, the offspring of an adulterous connection, is incapable of inheriting from his father. At widow marriage there is no regular ceremonial; the bridegroom merely

[1] Dalip *versus* Ganpat *Indian Law Reports Alldhdbdd*, VIII., 387.

goes to the woman's guardian with two rupees and a sheet on a day fixed by the village Pandit. He pays the bride price and the woman is dressed in the sheet. He eats that night with her family, and next morning takes his wife home, and she is recognized as a duly married woman after the brotherhood have been feasted. If she marry outside the family of her late husband, his estate devolves on his sons by her first marriage; if there be no sons, to the brothers of her late husband. If she marry her husband's younger brother, he acts as guardian of his nephews and makes over to them the property of their father when they arrive at the age of discretion. There is no fiction of attributing the children of the second to the first husband.

Adoption.

17. Adoption prevails; and, as long as there is a sister's son available for adoption, no other relative can be selected. A man may adopt, if his only son is disqualified from succession by being permanently excluded from caste, or if he have lost his faith (*dharm*). Adoption, while a son is alive, is forbidden. A widower may adopt, but it is forbidden in the case of a woman, a bachelor, or a man who is blind, impotent, or crippled. A widow can adopt only with the express permission of her late husband, and not if her husband have adopted a son during his lifetime. A man may adopt his nephew at any age; but in the case of an outsider the child adopted must not be more than twelve years of age. The boy adopted must, in any case, be of the same *gotra* as his adoptive father. The adoption of a sister's son is prohibited; as a rule a man adopts the son of his brother or daughter. Adoption is performed in the presence of and with the advice and approval of, the assembled brethren. The man and his wife take their seats in the assembly, and the wife takes the boy into her lap and acknowledges him as her own child. A distribution of food or sweetmeats follows and concludes the ceremony. There is no custom analogous to Beena marriage recognised where the bridegroom is taken into the household of his father-in-law and serves for his bride. They follow, as a rule, the Hindu law of succession.

Domestic ceremonies. Birth.

18. There are no observances during pregnancy. When the child is born the Chamârin midwife is called in; she cuts the umbilical cord and buries it on the spot where the birth occurred, lighting a fire and fixing up a piece of iron— a guard against evil spirits. The mother

gets no food that day, and next morning she is dosed with a mixture of ginger, turmeric and treacle. The Chamârin attends for six days, and after bathing the mother and child she is dismissed with a present of two-and-a-half *sers* of grain and two annas in cash. Then the barber's wife attends, who cuts the nails of the mother and child and dyes the soles of their feet with lac. The purification of the confinement room is done by the sister of the father of the child, who gets a present for the service. The father does not cohabit with his wife for two months after her delivery.

Marriage ceremonies.

19. The following describes a marriage as carried out in the Mirzapur District. When the match is settled the father of the boy pays a visit to the girl's father to make the final preparations. Next follows the betrothal (*sa'at*), which is carried out on a day fixed by the Pandit, who gets a fee of two annas. The father of the boy goes to the house of the bride with the bride price already described, pays it over, eats there, and returns next morning. Next follows the *matmangar* or collection of the sacred earth, which is done exactly as in the case of the Dravidian Bhuiyas, in the article on which tribe the ritual is described. When the earth is brought back to the house it is placed under the sacred water vessel (*kalsa*) near the pole of siddh wood fixed up in the centre of the marriage shed. This vessel is decorated with lumps of cowdung stuck in a line all round it, and over these grains of barley are sprinkled. The mouth is filled with mango leaves, and over them is placed an earthen saucer (*kosa*) full of the *sânwân* millet or barley. When this is completed all the women present are given some parched grain, which they receive in the part of their sheet covering the breast.

20. When this is over the anointing (*telhardi*) of the bride and bridegroom commences. This goes on every evening till the day before the wedding (*Bhatwân*). Next morning the boy is bathed by the barber, and the water is carefully kept for use in bathing the bride. The boy is dressed in a yellow loin cloth and a red turban and coat, when his mother takes him in her lap and five unmarried boys make him chew some cakes folded up in mango leaves. Then he spits on the palm of his mother's hand and she licks it up, when the father and mother, with their hands covered with a cloth so that no one may see them, grind some *urad* pulse on the family curry stone (*sil*). This is made into lumps and offered to the

sainted dead of the household with the prayer "Come and help us to bring the marriage to a successful issue!" Then the boy gets into the litter, while his mother waves a pestle over his head to drive off evil spirits. When the litter is raised the mother is obliged to creep beneath it, and as she attempts to do so the Kahârs put it down, and will not raise it until they receive a present. This present is called *pilâi* or "a drink." It is customary with them that the procession should reach the house of the bride after nightfall, a survival of marriage by capture. They then go to the house of the headman of the village and present him with five *chhatâuks* of betel-nut and curd—a possible sign of the commutation of the *jus prima noctis*, but more probably one of the ordinary dues taken by the village landlord at marriages. They stay some time at his door and dance and sing their own tribal song, the *birha*. Then they go to the reception place (*janwâsa*), which is usually arranged under a tree near the village. Then the bride's barber appears and washes the feet of the party, and a relative of the bride comes and feeds five boys of the *gotra* of the bridegroom with him on curds and treacle. After this the boy's father sends to the bride the water in which the bridegroom had been washed; in this she gets the marriage bath. This done the bridegroom goes to the house of the bride, and is received at the door by the mother of the bride, who waves over his head a piece of dough, on which is laid a silver coin and a lighted lamp. This is the *parachhan* ceremony, and is intended to scare away the evil spirits, which are most to be dreaded at any crisis of life such as marriage. Then the barber's wife brings out the bride, who is seated on the thigh of her father. The pair worship Gauri and Ganesa, of whom flour images are made. The father then gives away his daughter in the regular *kanyâdân* form, holding a bunch of *kusa* grass, water, and rice, in his right hand. Then the bridegroom first performs the emblematical marriage with the siddh tree forming the central pole of the marriage shed, and he then marks the parting of the bride's hair. The pair next make five circuits round the siddh tree, and the ceremony ends with a salute to the officiating Brâhman.

21. Next the bridegroom walks with the bride into the retiring room (*kohabar*), an obvious survival of the custom still prevailing among some of the Dravidian tribes, where consummation follows immediately on the marriage ceremony. The sister-in-law of the bride attempts to obstruct his passage, and he is obliged to carry in

the bride by force. The walls of the retiring room are decorated with rude drawings in red, of elephants and horses. Over these the bridegroom is made to pour a little butter. Then the women crack jokes with the boy. Pointing to a rice pestle they say "That is your father! Salute him!" and taking up a lamp they say, "That is your mother! Salute her!" On this he breaks the lamp with the pestle. Then the knot joining the clothes of the pair is opened and the boy returns to his own party.

22. Next morning the bridegroom is brought with two or three other boys to go through the *confarreatio* or *khichari* rite. When he is asked to eat in the house of the bride he holds out for some time, and will not touch the food until he gets a present from his father-in-law; then his party are feasted. Next morning the boy goes again into the marriage shed, and his mother-in-law, as before, waves a pestle over his head and gives him a present. This done, his father shakes one of the poles of the shed and receives a present for so doing, which is known as *mâuro-hilâi*. On this, the relations on both sides embrace, and the wedding party start for home. If the bride be nubile she accompanies her husband; if not, in the first, third, or fifth year there is the *gauna*, when she is brought to the house of her husband. After the party return, a burnt offering (*hom*) is made in honour of the village godlings (*dih*), and the barber's wife takes the marriage jar (*kalsa*) to a neighbouring stream, where she washes it, and then, filling it with water, pours the contents over the head of the mother of the bridegroom, and asks her if she feels refreshed, meaning thereby if she is satisfied with the marriage of her son. Of course she says that she is satisfied, and blesses him and his wife.

Death ceremonies.

23. The married dead are cremated; children and those who die of epidemic disease are buried. The cremation is carried out in the orthodox way. After it is over the chief mourner plants by the side of a river, or tank, a bunch of the *jurai* grass, as an abode for the soul until the funeral rites are completed. He cooks for himself, and daily places on a dung-hill a leaf platter (*dauna*) full of food for the ghost of the dead man. On the tenth day he throws into a tank ten balls of rice boiled in milk (*khîr*) in honour of the dead. During this the Brâhman repeats texts; and the relatives, after shaving, come home and offer a burnt offering. Clothes, vessels, a cow, and other articles are given to a MahâBrâhman in the belief that they will pass for the use of the dead man in the next world.

Religion.

24. Ahîrs are all Hindus, but are seldom initiated into any of the regular sects. To the east of the Province they worship, by preference, Mahâdeva. They also worship the Pânchonpîr and Birtiya. The latter, they say, was one of their forefathers, who fell in some fight at Delhi. He is worshipped in the month of Sâwan, or at the Holi festival, with a burnt offering, which is made either in the courtyard of the house where the churn is kept, or in the cow-house. They also pour spirits on the ground in his honour. They worship the Pânchonpîr during the Naurâtri or first nine days of Chaitra. Birtiya is regarded as the special guardian of cattle. The only one of the regular pantheon, to whom they offer regular sacrifices, is the Vindhyabâsini Devi, of Vindhyâchal, to whom they occasionally sacrifice a goat. In other parts of the Province they seem, as a rule, to worship Devi. They are served by Brâhmans of all the ordinary priestly classes.

Worship of Kâsinâth.

25. To the east of the province the worship of Kâsinâth is very popular. In most of their villages there is a man who is supposed to be possessed by this deity, who is generally a young, strong man, who lets his hair grow. Once or twice a year Kâsinâth "comes on his head," as the phrase is. Then he begins to move his hands and shakes his head, and in this state utters prophecies of the prospects of the crops and other matters affecting the village. Then they all assemble in some open ground, outside the village, and arrange for the worship of the godling. They light several fires in a row, and on each a pot of milk is set to boil. Opposite these a pile of parched barley (*bahuri*) is collected. As soon as the milk begins to boil over, the man possessed of the spirit of Kâsinâth, rushes up and pours the contents of all the pots in succession over his shoulders. It is said that he is never scalded. The rite concludes with the distribution of the barley among the congregation.

Worship of Birnâth.

26. In parts of the Mirzapur District, south of the River Son, you may notice, on the side of the road, here and there, a little platform (*chaura*), with one, three or five rude wooden images, about three feet high, with a sort of representation of a human face and head at the top. These fetish posts are quite black with a continual application of oil or ghi. This is the shrine of Bîrnâth, the Ahîr cattle godling. He was an Ahîr, who, according to some, was killed by a tiger, and he has now

become a godling, and is worshipped by the Ahîrs of the jungle as the protector of cattle. People make occasional vows to him in seasons of sickness or distress, but his special function is to keep the cattle safe from beasts of prey. He has no special feast day, but is presented with occasional offerings of rice, milk, and cakes. The worshipper first bathes; then fresh plasters the platform of the godling, and deposits his offering upon it and says "Bîrnâth Bâba keep our cattle safe, and you will get more!" This worship is always done in the morning, and more particularly when the cattle are sent into the jungle in the hot weather, or when cattle disease is prevalent. The curious point about the worship is that it is part of the faith of the aboriginal tribes, with whom the connection of the Ahîrs cannot be very close. Thus Mr. S. Hislop[1] writes :— "In the south of the Bhandâra District the traveller frequently meets with squared pieces of wood, each with a rude figure carved in front, set up somewhat close to each other. These represent Bangarâma, Bangara Bai, or Devi, who is said to have one sister and five brothers, the sister being styled Danteswari ("she with the teeth"), a name of Kâli, and four out of the five brothers being known by the names of Ghantarâma, Champarâma, Nâikrâma and Potlinga. These are all deemed to possess the power of sending disease and death upon men, and under these or different names seem to be generally feared in the region east of the city of Nâgpur. I find the name of Bangara to occur among the Kols of Chaibasa, where he is regarded as the god of fever, and is associated with Gohem, Chondu, Negra and Dechali, who are considered respectively the gods of cholera, the itch, indigestion, and death. Bhîm Sen, again, is generally adored under the form of two pieces of wood, standing from three to four feet in length above the ground, like those set up in connection with Bangarâma's worship." There can be little doubt that from this form of worship the cultus of Bîrnâth has been developed. The quintette of the brethren may be a reminiscence of the Pândava legend, on which much of the Pânchonpîr cycle is possibly based.

Festivals.

27. The Ahîrs observe the usual Hindu festivals, particularly the Holi, which is the occasion for much drinking and rude horse play. They have a special observance, which takes place a few days after the Diwâli,

[1] *Papers* 15, *s.q.*

which is known as the Dâng or "club" Diwâli, or the Gobardhana, when the representation of images of the cattle of Krishna are worshipped, and the herdsmen go round singing, playing, and dancing, and collect money from the owners of the cattle they tend. Connected with this is the Sohrâi, which takes place on the fifteenth of Kârttik, when a cow is made to run or dance. Sometimes a young pig is made to squeak near her calf, and the mother, followed by the whole herd, pursue it and gore it to death. Sometimes, according to Mr. Christian,[1] this cruel sport is humanely varied by dragging a large gourd or a black blanket, at which the cows run to butt. Hence the proverb *Bûrh gâé sohrâi ke sâdh*—"An old cow, and longing to take part in the Sohrâi."

Social position and occupation.

28. In Cawnpur they will eat *kachchi* and *pakki* with all Brâhmans; *pakki*, with Râjputs and Banyas, and drink and smoke with none but members of their own caste. In Mirzapur they drink water from the hands of Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and all Vaisyas, except Kalwârs. They will eat *Kachchi* cooked by a Brâhman, but only if they are well acquainted with him. In Behâr, according to Mr. Risley, they rank with Kurmis and similar castes, from whose hands a Brâhman can drink water. Towards Delhi, Sir H. M. Elliot states, that they eat, drink, and smoke in common, not only with Jâts and Gûjars, but also under a few restrictions with Râjputs. In other places Râjputs would indignantly repudiate all connection with Ahîrs. In rural belief the Ahîr is a boor, faithless, greedy, and quarrelsome. Like Gadariyas and Gûjars, they are naturally dwellers in the jungle—

Ahîr, Gadariya, Gûjar,
Ye tînon châhen ujar.

The other local proverbs are not much more complimentary to them—*Ahîr se jab gun niklé, jab bâlu se ghi*—"You can as soon get good out of an Ahîr as butter from sand"; "Blood out of a stone." *Ahîr dekh Gadariya mastâna*—"If the Gadariya gets drunk he learns it from the Ahîr." *Ahîr ka pet gahir, Brâhman ka pet madar*—"The Ahîr's belly is deep, but the Brahman's a bottomless pit." *Ahîr ka kya jajmân, aur lapsi ka kya pakwân*—'As soon be an Ahîr's client as hold gruel a dainty." His primary business is the tending of cattle and making of ghi, and

selling milk. He is not above the suspicion of adulterating his ghi with substances which are an abomination to orthodox Hindus or Musalmans. As a cultivator he does not take a high place, as he depends more on his cattle than on his field, and in some places he is not free from the suspicion of cattle stealing.

Distribution of Ahirs according to the Census of 1891.

Distribution of Ahîrs according

District.	Sub-								
	Benbansi.	Bhirgudi.	Dauwâ.	Dhindhor.	Gaddi.	Gamel.	Ghorcharha.	Ghosi.	Gûjar.
Dehra Dûn	...	...	...	...	3	25	...	1	...
Sahâranpur	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...
Muzaffarnagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Meerut	463	...	...	...	...	...	...	139	...
Bulandshahr	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	269	...
Aligarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	758	...
Mathura	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	...
Agra	...	8	2	...	...	...	...	1,474	5
Farrukhâbâd	...	12,884	...	...	...	...	1,133	48,708	32
Mainpuri	...	1	4	...	...	28	...	69,554	...
Etâwah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	29,504	...
Etah	...	2,875	...	218	...	...	...	23,973	...
Bareilly	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bijnor	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...
Budâun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	159	...
Morâdâbâd	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	700	...
Shâhjahânpur	9	10,487	168	322	...	1,849	1,970	8,514	40
Pilibhît	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	34
Cawnpur	...	1,027	22	26,634	...	4	43	64,709	12
Fatehpur	...	...	...	14,239	...	121	20	2,535	158
Bânda	...	1	74	9,534	...	...	...	3,669	123
Hamîrpur	...	...	50	5,383	...	...	...	11,910	...
Allahâbâd	...	...	...	247	...	83	...	78	2
Jhânsi	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	1,442	68
Jâlaun	...	...	69	2,902	...	...	...	2,850	8
Lalitpur	...	48	46	1	...	...	...	618	2
Benares	...	...	...	10,581	...	...	...	3	5
Mirzapur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1

to the Census of 1891.

Castes.										
Gnâlbans.	Jâdnbans.	Kamarihs.	Khunkhuniys.	Kur.	Nandbans.	Pâthak.	Rajauriys.	Râwat.	Others.	Total.
1,782	103	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	371	2,235
2,594	3,241	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	151	5,997
246	307	...	...	..	38	22	...	...	382	995
3,180	12,841	...	...	...	468	...	...	...	1,413	18,499
168	3,530	...	...	...	618	...	...	...	4,779	9,398
827	8,977	...	...	...	5,840	...	...	4	13,149	29,050
884	1,557	1	...	...	2,716	17	...	...	946	6,171
979	627	59	...	...	29,778	62	...	42	1,640	34,676
4,460	407	4,202	35	30	6,753	801	3,775	168	2,520	85,903
99	27	48,392	14	1	5,883	6,406	7,984	34	2,532	1,40,909
941	4	53,078	...	...	5,571	...	...	...	1,691	90,789
621	470	14,572	...	2,153	23,434	160	...	2,197	8,234	78,907
38	816	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,316	6,171
239	5,182	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	248	5,676
210	36	...	...	...	102	...	...	...	354	861
139	14,293	5	...	...	3	...	...	...	3,530	18,676
19,088	6,683	1,350	...	11	193	218	4	1,039	20,278	72,218
48	257	...	...	...	1	...	...	8	728	1,081
5,756	199	...	14	...	447	...	...	33	20,488	1,19,383
35,875	262	...	24	...	34	...	...	...	7,275	60,033
49,022	1	58	18	...	11	...	...	...	7,131	69,652
1,906	118	1,809	9	...	4,219	...	...	...	4,807	29,711
1,38,413	11,207	...	1	...	142	...	...	...	1,186	1,51,449
852	381	1,489	...	408	17,831	26	...	...	10,579	33,065
541	24	760	...	...	5,042	...	...	...	2,393	14,589
21	75	20	...	...	25,275	...	...	...	1,408	27,514
72,539	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,308	85,449
1,11,821	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,416	1,13,288

Distribution of Ahîrs according

District.	Sub-								
	Benbansi.	Bhirgudi.	Dauwâ.	Dhindhor.	Gaddi.	Gamel.	Ghorcharha.	Ghosi.	Gûjar.
Jaunpur	...	...	...	18,669	...	...	...	...	...
Ghâzipur	...	...	...	36,445	...	...	...	4	...
Ballia	...	...	...	40,753	...	...	...	...	...
Gorakhpur	...	...	...	66,251	...	...	...	2	...
Basti	...	...	...	14,557	...	...	...	...	156
Azamgarh	...	...	...	7,257	...	...	...	...	31
Garhwâl	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tarâi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	964	...
Lucknow	...	...	...	20,974	...	7,433	17	2,757	2
Unao	...	...	...	19,818	3,040	7,373	157	33,848	13
Râe Bareli	...	9,299	...	43,664	...	25,696	62	1,346	254
Sitapur	...	...	...	5,429	...	3,947	104	16,275	17
Hardoi	...	1,099	...	...	...	...	2,760	42,644	3
Kheri	...	84	...	2,421	...	151	96	155	242
Faizâbâd	...	...	...	3,859	...	...	...	36	12
Gonda	...	...	29	12,453	...	46	...	...	20
Bahrâich	...	...	...	16,636	...	...	...	...	...
Sultânpur	...	...	...	6,566	...	871	...	...	...
Partâbgarh	...	139	...	4,406	...	1,847	...	...	16,490
Bârabanki	...	...	...	...	...	909	...	...	...
Total	472	37,959	473	3,00,230	3,051	50,393	6,349	3,68,663	17,750

to the Census of 1891 – continued.

Castes.										
Gûâlbans.	Jâdubans.	Kamaribs.	Khunkhuniys.	Kur.	Nandbans.	Pâthak.	Rajauriys.	Râwat.	Others.	Total.
1,76,827	...	...	...	...	201	...	...	...	1,031	1,96,723
1,31,997	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1,213	1,69,570
33,699	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22,606	97,058
2,76,185	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,559	3,46,998
1,60,143	1,180	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,898	1,84,934
2,34,522	...	14,296	...	...	...	...	...	...	12,569	2,68,675
35	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	37
510	460	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	134	2,079
11,143	25,620	...	39	...	3,260	...	...	...	2,552	73,802
23,025	4,988	...	769	...	2,729	...	...	...	10,771	1,05,511
46,610	1,926	...	94	...	...	...	...	...	731	1,29,682
48,784	17,909	65	46	...	93	7	...	99	4,118	96,893
25,256	3,070	2,302	...	61	...	...	...	...	1,692	78,887
65,425	4,611	...	82	...	...	..	...	94	918	74,279
1,34,212	213	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	332	1,38,664
1,33,891	627	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	109	1,47,185
98,153	434	...	19	...	...	...	...	...	366	1,15,658
1,18,936	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,196	1,23,569
88,155	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,510	1,12,563
92,961	34,935	...	160	...	...	...	709	...	9,000	1,38,694
23,52,685	1,67,782	1,42,458	1,324	2,664	1,40,627	7,719	12,472	3,730	2,12,050	3,918,846

Ahiwâsi [1].—A land-owning, cultivating and labouring tribe found in Mathura and Mewât. The name is derived from *Ahi*, "the dragon," and *vâsa*, "dwelling." Their legend connects them with the Rishi Saubhari. In his old age the sage was inspired with a desire for offspring, and going to Râja Madhâtri demanded one of his fifty daughters. Afraid to refuse, and yet unwilling to bestow a daughter upon such a suitor, the king temporised and endeavoured to evade the request. At length it was settled that if any one of the daughters should accept him as a bridegroom the King would consent to the marriage. Saubhari was conducted to the presence of the girls; but on his way he assumed a fair and handsome form, so that all the girls were captivated and contended with each other as to who should become his wife. It ended in his marrying them all and taking them home. He caused Visvakarma to build for each a separate palace, furnished in the most luxurious manner, and surrounded with exquisite gardens, where they lived a most happy life, each one of them having her husband always present with her, and believing that he was devoted to her and her only. By his wives he had one hundred and fifty sons; but as he found his hopes and desires for them to daily increase and expand, he resolved to devote himself wholly and solely to penance and the worship of Vishnu. Accordingly, he abandoned his children and retired with his wives into the forest.[2] The Mathura tradition runs that Saubhari, when he retired to the forest, was wrath because birds used to drop offal and dirt upon his hermitage; accordingly he cursed any bird with death who should venture to approach the place. Just at that time Garuda was engaged in one of his periodical attacks on the snakes, and they at last had to make an agreement with him that they would provide him with a victim daily if he agreed to spare the rest. To this Garuda consented; but the great dragon, Ahi, or Kâliya, rescued the victims, and Garuda, in his wrath, pursued him. Ahi sought everywhere for protection, and at last he was advised to seek refuge with the Rishi Saubhari, whose curse would ward off the attack of Garuda. Hence the village of Sunrakh, in the Mathura District, where the hermitage of Saubhari Rishi was situated, came to be known as Ahivâsa, or "the abode of the dragon," and from this the Ahiwâsis take their name.

[1] Principally based on notes by Munshi Atma Râm, Head Master, High School, Mathura.

[2] Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, S. V., *Saubhari*.

How far the legend represents some early struggle between Vaishnavism and snake worship it is impossible to say. The Ahiwâsis, then, make themselves out to be the descendants of Saubhari Rishi, and consider Sunrakh to be their headquarters. Sunrakh adjoins the Kâli-mardan ghât at Brindâban. The Pandas of the great temple of Baladeva are all Ahiwâsis, and to use Mr. Growse's words,—"It is matter for regret that the revenues of so wealthy a shrine should be at the absolute disposal of a community so extremely unlikely ever to make a good use of them." [1]

Sub-divisions.

2. Mr. Growse calls the Ahiwâsis "a Brâhmanical or rather pseudo-Brâhmanical tribe," and notes that they have as many as seventy-two sub-divisions, two of the principal of which are called Dighiya and Bajrâwat.[2] These *gotras* are exogamous, and a man cannot marry in the *gotra* of his mother or grandmother; he may marry two sisters. The only important *gotra* mentioned in the Census returns is the Bhorak, of Bareilly.

Tribal council.

3. They have local tribal councils (*panchâyat*), with hereditary chairmen (*chaudhari*), which deal with matters affecting the caste, and punish offenders by fine or excommunication.

Widow marriage, etc.

4. Widow marriage, the levirate, concubinage, and polyandry, are all prohibited.

Marriage.

5. The marriage customs are of the ordinary Hindu type.

Religion.

6. The tribal deities are Bhagwân and Dâûji The temple of Dâûji is at Baldeo, in the Mathura District. Mr. Growse notes that "The temple garden was once a well planted grove. It is now a dirty, unsightly waste, as the Pandas have gradually cut down all the trees for firewood without a thought of replacing them. It is also asserted to be a common practice for the younger members of the clan, when they see any devotees prostrate in devotion before the god, to be very forward in assisting them to rise and leading them away, and to take the opportunity of despoiling them of any loose cash or valuable ornaments that they can lay their hands upon. It is believed that thefts of this kind are frequent; though the victim generally prefers to accept the loss in silence, rather than incur the

[1] *Mathura*, 11.
[2] *Ibid*, 10, *note*.

odium of bringing a charge, that there might not be legal evidence to substantiate, against a professedly religious community."[1] Among the minor gods Gangaji is worshipped on the Somwati Amâwas, or when the new moon appears on a Monday. Hanumân is worshipped every Tuesday and Saturday. They make pilgrimages to the shrine of Saubhari Rishi, already mentioned. Their priests are Brâhmans of the Gaur, Sanâdhya and Gujarâti tribes. Their chief festivals are the Diwâli, Dasahra, and Holi. At the Diwâli the houses are cleaned, Lakshmi is worshipped, and illuminations are made. On the Dasahra arms and horses are ornamented and worshipped, and gifts are given to Brâhmans, who present blades of barley. At the Salono, rice is cooked and alms given to Brâhmans, who tie amulets round the wrists of their clients.

Oaths.

7. They swear by the Ganges, Jumna, and Baldeoji.

Occupation.

8. Mr. Whiteway, in his Mathura Settlement Report[2] thus describes the Ahiwâsis:—"They are a race well marked by several peculiarities. In appearance they are easily distinguished, the men by their headdress, and the women by their way of wearing their hair. Their favourite occupation is the carrying trade. Trading in their own carts, they carry salt from Râjputâna all over Northern India, bringing back sugar and other commodities in return. The better off trade with their own money, and, in fact, the heads of the community are very fairly comfortable, and their villages are remarkable for the number of good masonry houses. At the same time these distant journeys keep the male population absent from the villages for months at a time, and the tilling of the field is left entirely to the women. It is natural, therefore, that easily as an Ahiwâsi may be recognised by his appearance and his village by the number of carts, cattle, and masonry houses, so his fields may be told by their slovenly and careless cultivation. The Ahiwâsis complain bitterly of the havoc the net-work of railways, now spreading over the country, is playing with their old occupation."

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[1] *Mathura*, 272.
[2] *Page*, 33.

Distribution of the Ahiwâsis according to the Census of 1891.

Mathura	8,265
Bareilly	1,070
Budâun	105
Morâdâbâd	11
Bahrâich	51
TOTAL .	9,502

Ajudhyabâsi.—(Residents of Ajudhya) A sub-caste of Banyas found chiefly in the Agra and Allahâbâd Divisions and Oudh. (See the article on *Audhiya*).

Distribution of the Ajudhyabâsi Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Agra	30	Benares . . .	1
Farrukhâbâd . .	2,390	Gorakhpur . .	35
Mainpuri . . .	1,583	Basti . . .	35
Etâwah . . .	1,279	Lucknow . . .	413
Etah	540	Unao . . .	18
Budâun . . .	86	RâêBareli . . .	996
Shâhjahânpur . .	1,044	Sitapur . . .	1,284
Pilibhît . . .	140	Hardoi . . .	173
Cawnpur . . .	2,594	Kheri . . .	967
Fatehpur . . .	800	Faizâbâd . . .	1,324
Bânda . . .	6,914	Gonda . . .	382
Hamîrpur . . .	1,614	Bahrâich . . .	1,510
Allahâbâd . . .	67	Sultânpur . .	1,498
Jhânsi . . .	16	Bârabanki . . .	2,460
Jâlaun . . .	102	TOTAL .	30,193

Akâli; Nihang.—A few of these Sikh devotees are sometimes seen at Benares, Hardwâr, and Prayâg. The best account of them is that of Mr. MacLagan:[1] "The fanatical order of Akâlis or Nihangs owes its origin to the express patronage of Guru Govind Sinh. There are two accounts of the founding of this order. According to one, the Guru, seeing his son, Fatch Sinh, playing before him with his turban peaked in the fashion now adopted by Akâlis, blessed him, and instituted a sect which should follow the same custom. According to the other account, the Akâli dress was started by the Guru as a disguise when he was fleeing from Chamkaur, in Ambâla, to the house of some friendly Pathâns, at Machiwâra, in Samrâla. The name means 'immortal.' Some understand the term to apply that the Akâlis are followers of the 'immortal man' (Akâl Purukh), that is, of God; others that they are invincible in fight. The former is probably the true derivation. It is said by some that Ajît Sinh, the youngest son of Govind, was the first convert. The Akâlis came into prominence very early by their stout resistance to the invocations introduced by the Bairâgi Banda, after the death of Guru Govind, but they do not appear to have had much influence during the following century until the days of Mahârâja Ranjît Sinh. During the Mahârâja's reign the celebrated Phûla Sinh entered the Panth, and, being a man of great force of character, induced a number of Sikhs to join it. They constituted at once the most unruly and the bravest portion of the very unruly and brave Sikh army. Their head-quarters were at Amritsar, where they constituted themselves the guardians of the faith, and assumed the right to convoke synods. They levied offerings by force, and were the terror of the Sikh chiefs. Their good qualities were, however, well appreciated by the Mahârâja, and when there were specially fierce foes to meet, such as the Pathâns, beyond the Indus, the Akâlis were always to the front.

2. The Akâli is distinguished very conspicuously by his dark, blue, and checked dress, his peaked turban, often surmounted by steel quoits, and by the fact of his strutting about like Ali Babâ's prince, 'with his thorax and abdomen festooned with curious cutlery.' He is most particular in retaining the five *kakkas* (*kes*, or uncut hair; *kachh*, or short drawers; the *kara*, or iron bangle; the *khanda*, or steel dagger, and the *kangha*, or comb), and in preserving every

[1] *Panjab Census Report*, 166.

outward form prescribed by Guru Govind Sinh. Some of the Akâlis wear a yellow turban underneath the blue one, leaving a yellow band across the forehead; the story being that a Delhi Khatri, called Nand Lâl (the author of the *Zindagi nâma*), having a desire to see the true Guru in yellow, was gratified by Govind Sinh to this extent. The yellow turban is worn by many Sikhs at the Basant Panchami, and the Akâlis are fond of wearing it at all times. There is a couplet by Bhâi Gurdâs, which says :—

Sidh, sufed, surkh, zardâi,
Jo pahne, soi Gurbhâi.

'Those that wear black (the Akâlis), white (the Nirmalas), red (the Udasis), or yellow, are all members of the brotherhood of the Sikhs.' The Akâlis do not, it is true, drink spirits or eat meat as other Sikhs do, but they are immoderate in the consumption of *bhang*. They are in other respects such purists that they will avoid Hindu rites even in their marriage ceremonies.

3. The Akâli is full of memories of the glorious days of the Khâlsa; and he is nothing if he is not a soldier—a soldier of the Guru. He dreams of armies, and he thinks in lakhs. If he wishes to imply that five Akâlis are present, he will say that 'five lakhs are before you;' or, if he would explain that he is alone, he will say that he is 'with 1,25,000 Khâlsa.' You ask him how he is, and he replies that 'the army is well;' you enquire where he has come from and he says, 'the troops marched from Lahore.'

4. These sectaries are also known as Nihang, 'the reckless,' (others derive the word from *nanga* 'naked,' or the Sanskrit *niranga*, 'having no resources'). They meet together at such places as the Akâlbhunga, at Amritsar; the Pîr Sâhib, at Attock, and the shrines of Govind Sinh, at Patna and Apchalnagar; but their chief home is at Kiratpur, in the Hoshyârpur District, where the sacred place of Phûla Sinh stands, and at Anandpur at the shrine *par excellence* of the Akâlis, the Gurudwâra Anandpur Sâhib, which was Guru Govind's own house. The presence of these Akâlis at the annual Holi fair at Anandpur renders disturbances likely, and in 1864, a Missionary of the Ludhiâna Mission was killed at this fair by a Sikh fanatic. The influence of these sectaries has, however, very considerably diminished since the downfall of the Sikh power. They have not for some time past had any political significance."

Akâshmukhi.—A Saiva sect so called because they keep their face (*mukha*) turned towards the sky (*akâsha*) until the neck muscles become rigid, and the head remains fixed in that position. Some live a lonely, mendicant life: others associate in monasteries, where their natural wants are provided for by the piety of the faithful. They allow the hair of their head and face to grow, cover their bodies with ashes, and wear clothes dyed with ochre (*geru*).

Alakhgir, Alakhnâmi, Alakhiya.—A Saiva sect said to have been founded by a Chamâr, named Lâlgir. They are so called because when they beg they cry *Alakh! Alakh!* "the invisible God" (Sans. *Alakshya*). They wear usually a blanket cloak hanging down to their heels, and a high conical cap. They come to a man's door and raise their characteristic cry. If their request is granted, they will accept alms: otherwise they go away at once. They are considered a quiet, harmless, begging class. They are generally classed among Jogis. The rule of their founder was that charity was to be practised, the taking of life and use of meat as food forbidden, and asceticism encouraged. The sole rewards he held out to his followers in this life were the attainment of purity, untroubled contemplation, and serenity. There was no future state: heaven and hell (that is, happiness and misery), were within. All perishes with the body, which is finally dissolved into the elements, and man cannot gain immortality.

Amethiya.—A sept of Râjputs who take their name from Amethi, a Pargana in the Lucknow District. Sir H. M. Elliot calls them Chauhân Râjputs of the Bandhalgoti sept, of whom a few have settled in Salempur Majhauli of Gorakhpur. But Mr. W. C. Benett[1] gives a different account of them. According to him, "This tribe of Chhatris are a branch of the Chamar Gaur, and are said to be the descendants of a pregnant Gaur widow, who, at the extirpation of the Chhatris by the Brâhmans, found an asylum in a Chamâr's hut. The memory of this humble refuge is kept alive among them by the worship of the cobbler's cutting tool (*râmpi*). Great numbers of the Chamar Gaurs now hold villages in the Hardoi District, and it is probable that the Amethiyas were an offshoot of the same immigration. Tradition first discovers them at Siupuri and afterwards at the celebrated fortress of Kalinjar. Somewhere about

[1] *Clans of Rae Bareli* 14, sq.

the time of the invasion of India by Tamurlane, Râe Pâl Sinh left Kalinjar and settled at Amethi, in the Lucknow District. His descendants say that he was sent by the Delhi Emperor to suppress a rebellion in Oudh, and that he defeated and slew Balbhadra Sena Bisen with sixteen thousand of his host. The figures are slightly improbable, and my enquiries have failed to bring to light a Bisen Râja of that name. Râe Pâl was wounded in the shoulder by a musket shot, and recompensed by a dress of honour and the *title* of Râja of Amethi. Three or four generations after this, three brothers—Dingur Sâh, Râm Sinh, and Lohang, led the clan from Amethi to Jagdîspur, and came in contact with the Muhammadans: the engagement resulted in the defeat of the Shaikhs, and the occupation of their villages by the invaders. There is every reason to believe that this occurred towards the end of the fifteenth century, and was part of the general re-assertion of Hindu supremacy in Oudh, consequent on the fall of the Jaunpur dynasty, a re-action whose central event was the establishment of the Bais kingdom." The subsequent fortunes of the sept are given in detail by Mr. Benett, and need not be repeated here. There are, however, other accounts. The Râe Bareli[1] tradition brings them from Lucknow, and another account is that they came from Siupur, near Dwârika, to Narkanjhîl, in Cawnpur, and thence to Oudh. The Cawnpur family still recognise the Oudh branch. According to Mr. Carnegy they were originally Bhars.[2] It is still less probable that they are the modern representatives of the Ambastha of Manu, descended from a Brâhman father of a Vaisya mother, and practising as physicians. The sept still preserve their connection with Amethi, their original head-quarters, by their worship of Shaikh Bandagi Miyân, the local saint of that town.

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[1] *Settlement Report*, 9.
[2] *Notes*, 20, sq.

Distribution of the Amethiya Rájputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Aligarh	6	...	6
Mainpuri	9	...	9
Etâwah	6	...	6
Budâun	32	...	32
Pilibhît	1	...	1
Cawnpur	18	...	18
Fatehpur	1	...	1
Allahâbâd	4	...	4
Benares	4	...	4
Ghâzipur	8	...	8
Gorakhpur	1,747	...	1,747
Basti	1	...	1
Azamgarh	172	...	172
Lucknow	287	35	322
Unâo	269	...	269
Râe Bareli	2,125	6	2,131
Sîtapur	107	...	107
Faizâbâd	22	...	22
Gonda	3	...	3
Bahrâich	161	9	170
Sultânpur	327	15	342
Partâbgarh	8	...	8
Bârabanki	3,555	8	3,563
Total .	9,308	74	9,382

Anantpanthi.—One of the reformed Vaishnava sects found in the Râe Bareli and Sîtapur Districts. They number only 170 persons. They are monotheists, and, as the name implies, worship Vishnu in the form of Ananta, "The Infinite."

Apapanthi.—A Vaishnava sect founded about a century ago by Munna Dâs, a goldsmith ascetic of Mundwa, in the Kheri District, to whose miraculous powers an escape from drought, which threatened the country, was believed to be due, and who has since had a not inconsiderable number of followers in the District of his birth, and Sîtapur and Bahraich. It does not appear that the tenets taught by Munna Dâs to any considerable extent differ from those of the usual Vaishnava sects.[1] At the last enumeration the Apapanthis numbered 4,267, and the Munna Dâsis, 2,636.

Arakh[2].—A tribe of cultivators and labourers found in Oudh, some of the eastern districts, and scattered about in smaller numbers through some of the western districts.

Traditions of origin.

2. All the traditions connect them with the Pâsis and Parasurâma, the sixth Avatâra of Vishnu. One story runs that Parasurâma was bathing in the sea when a leech bit his foot and caused it to bleed. He divided the blood into two parts: out of one part he made the first Pâsi and out of the second the first Arakh. Another story is that the Pâsis were made out of the sweat (*pasîna*) of Parasurâma. While Parasurâma was away the Pâsi shot some animals with his bow, and the deity was so enraged that he cursed the Pâsi, and swore that his descendants should keep pigs. This accounts for the degradation of the Pâsis. Subsequently Parasurâma sent for some Pâsis to help him in one of his wars; but they ran away and hid in an *arhar* field, and were hence called Arakhs. Another story goes that Parasurâma was once meditating in the jungle. From the dirt of his body he made a figure, and gave it life by cutting his little finger and sprinkling blood upon it. In Lucknow they have an extraordinary story that Tilok Chand founded a Bhar dynasty and was a worshipper of the sun (*arka*), so he called his family Arkabansi. The Arkabans became the Arakhs, and the Râjbansi the Râjpâsi.[3] The Arakhs appear at an early date to have obtained

[1] *Report, Census, North-West Provinces*, 1891, page 237.

[2] Based almost entirely on notes by Babu Sânwal Dâs, Deputy Collector, Hardoi.

[3] *Settlement Report*, XXIV.

considerable power in Oudh, especially in Hardoi. In the early history of Pargana Sandîla Arakhs occupy the place which is filled in other parts of the district by the Thatheras.[1] Two brothers of the tribe, Salhiya and Malhiya, are said to have founded the one Salhiya Purwa, now Sandîla, the chief town of the Pargana; and the other, Malihâbâd, in the adjacent Pargana of that name in the Lucknow District. The Arakhs held the tract till towards the end of the fourteenth century. Sayyid Makhdûm Ala-ud-dîn, the fighting apostle of Nasîr-ud-dîn, the "lamp of Delhi," undertook to drive out the infidels, and to carry the faith and arms of Islâm a stage further to the south. The promise of a royal revenue-free grant made the prospect of success as tempting to the soldier as was the expulsion of the infidel to the saint. How long or how fiercely the Arakhs resisted we know not. Only the issue of the contest has been remembered. To this day the Arakhs of Atraula, on the Râpti, 120 miles away to the east in Gonda, recall their last domains in Sandîla.

Tribal organisation.

3. In most places they divide themselves into seven, or what are supposed to be seven exogamous clans. Thus, in Cawnpur, they have the Arakh, Khagâr, Khidmatiya, Chobdâr and Adhrij (which is the highest of all, claiming descent from a Brâhman), Guâr and Bâchhar. These names show that the caste is very much mixed. Khidmatiya means an "attendant," and was the title given by Akbar to his palace guards. Chobdâr means "mace bearer." Guâr connects them with the Guâla Ahîrs, and Bâchhar with the Bâchhal Râjputs. In Hardoi they are reported to have no known sub-divisions. The Census returns give their chief clans in Shâhjahânpur, Ratanjat; in Cawnpur, Balahar and Sûpa Bhagat, which connects them with the Doms; in Basti, Maghariya, and Sarjupâri, or "residents of Maghar and the land beyond the river Sarju," respectively; the Jonkiya, in Lucknow, Unâo, Sitâpur, and Hardoi, who seem to take their name from catching leeches (*jonk*); in Hardoi, the Mothi; in Gonda, the Adhrij or Adhurj, Bâgri and Baiswâr. In Hardoi too they are said to have no permanent tribal council; the elders merely attend whenever any case comes up for consideration.

Marriage rules.

4. The tendency seems to be towards the establishment of regular exogamous sub-divisions, but these are reported not to be known in Hardoi, and there

[1] *Oudh Gazetteer*, III., 301.

the rule of exogamy is that a boy is not married into a family to which a girl has been given in marriage. A man can marry the sister of his late wife, but he cannot have two sisters to wife at the same time. There is a regular ceremony whereby the newly-married bride is introduced into her husband's family. His relatives assemble, eat food cooked by her, and then make her a present. As a rule they practise monogamy. Polyandry is prohibited; concubinage with a woman of the tribe in the Dharauna form is recognised. Marriage is both infant and adult. A wife can be divorced for infidelity, and after divorce she can live with a man by the Dharauna form. A widow can marry by Dharauna: the only difference between this and the regular marriage is that there is no walking round (*bhanwar*) the sacred fire. The levirate prevails; but the widow is free to marry an outsider if she pleases. If her children by the first marriage are grown up, and she marries a person other than the younger brother of her late husband, she leaves them with his relations; if the children are very young she usually takes them to the house of her new husband, and there they are brought up and supported. When she marries a stranger she loses all claim on her husband's estate, which falls to his children if there are any; if there are no children, to his associated brethren.

Birth ceremonies.

5. At a woman's first pregnancy, in the seventh month, sweets (*gul-gula*) are placed in her lap, and then distributed to the caste people. Her parents at this time send her a present of sweetmeats and money.

Marriage ceremonies.

6. The marriage ceremonies are of the usual type; rich people use the ordinary *charhauwa* ritual; poor people take the bride to her husband's house and marry her there by the *dola* form.

Death ceremonies.

7. These are carried out in the usual way. They get a Brâhman to perform the Srâddha ceremony. As in some of the menial tribes, if a Brâhman's services cannot be secured the sister's son of the deceased can take his place.

Ceremonial impurity.

8. The woman is impure for seven days after child-birth, and four days after menstruation. The chief mourner is impure for nine days, and is then purified by bathing and shaving.

Religion.

9. They are Hindus, not belonging to any particular sect, visiting no particular shrine, and worshipping no special saint. Their goddess is Devi, whom

they propitiate with an offering of goats. Their priests are Brâhmans of low social position. Their festivals are the Holi, the Janamashtami, on the eighth of the dark half of Bhâdon. They fast all day and eat at midnight. They observe the Diwâli, or feast of lamps, and the Shiurâtri, on the thirteenth of the dark half of Phâlgun, when they fast all day and night, and worship the idol of Siva. At the Karwa Chauth, in the early part of Kârttik, women worship the moon by pouring water on the ground from a pot (*karwa*).

Demonology and superstition.

10. Their demonology and superstitions do not differ materially from the beliefs of the allied tribes.

Social rules.

11. They will eat anything except beef, pork, the flesh of monkeys, fowls, crocodiles, snakes, lizards, jackals, rats, vermin and the leavings of other people. During the fifteen days in the month of Kuâr, sacred to the worship of the dead, they do not eat meat.

Occupation.

12. Arakhs say that their original occupation was service. They hold no zamîndâri, but cultivate and work as ordinary labourers. In some places they bear a somewhat equivocal reputation for petty thieving.

Distribution of the Arakhs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Sub-castes.				Total.
	Chobdâr.	Mal.	Pârasrâmi.	Others.	
Meerut	82	...	...	...	82
Bulandshahr . . .	6	...	...	...	6
Mathura	170	...	...	...	170
Agra	...	...	...	83	83
Farrukhâbâd . . .	1	...	164	132	297
Mainpuri	80	...	...	...	80
Etâwah	31	...	...	...	31
Etah	10	...	...	...	10
Shâhjahânpur . . .	...	...	19	1,913	1,932
Pilibhît	...	...	1	287	288
Cawnpur	...	709	154	696	1,649
Fatehpur	...	1,867	...	2,061	3,928
Bânda	...	25,132	...	638	25,770

Distribution of the Arakhs according to the Census of 1891 —contd.

District.	Sub-castes.				Total.
	Chobdar.	Mal.	Parasrami.	Others.	
Hamirpur	...	2,334	...	149	2,483
Allahâbâd	...	2,071	...	432	2,503
Jhânsi	...	...	...	8	8
Mirzapur	...	...	...	1	1
Gorakhpur	...	...	...	250	250
Basti	...	...	...	3,539	3,539
Azamgarh	...	...	...	24	24
Tarâi	...	...	...	12	12
Lucknow	...	...	481	595	1,076
Unâo	...	...	1,733	624	2,357
Sitapur	...	...	5,181	1,251	6,432
Hardoi	...	...	19,027	6,599	25,626
Kheri	...	...	...	9	9
Gonda	...	...	...	1,927	1,927
Partâbgarh	...	...	...	1	1
Total	380	32,203	26,760	21,231	80,574

Âshiqân.—(Literally "lovers"). A branch of the Madâri (*q. v.*) Muhammadan Faqîrs.

Distribution of the Âshiqân according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar	18	Cawnpur	35
Bulandshahr	59	Allahâbâd	2
Mathura	5	Ghâzipur	121
Agra	4	Gorakhpur	197
Farrukhâbâd	163	Azamgarh	111
Mainpuri	15	Sitapur	5
Etâwah	12	Hardoi	354
Etah	36	Kheri	138
Bareilly	735	Gonda	1
Budâun	108	Bahraich	19
Morâdâbâd	7		
Shâhjahânpur	381		
Pilibhît	196	Total	2,722

Âtishbâz.—(*Âtish*, "fire," *bâz*, *bâkhtan* or *bazîdan* "to play".) Also known as Hawaigar or rocket-maker—the maker of fire-works. The variety of fire-works made is very great: the chief are the grenade (*anâr*), the rocket (*maktâbi*, *hawai*), and the squib (*chachhundar*). The trade is a fluctuating one, as fire-works are chiefly in demand about the time of Hindu marriages in May, June, and hardly any are used between the Muharram and Chehlam, when Muhammadans do not marry. The caste is purely occupational, and all are Muhammadans.

Distribution of the Âtishbâz according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	1	Benares . . .	33
Muzaffarnagar . . .	12	Jaunpur . . .	134
Aligarh	9	Gorakhpur . . .	4
Farrukhâbâd . . .	8	Azamgarh . . .	2
Etah	1	Rae Bareli . . .	17
Bareilly	1	Sultânpur . . .	37
Morâdâbâd . . .	43	Partâbgarh . . .	92
Cawnpur . . .	1		
Fatehpur . . .	28		
Allahâbâd . . .	111	Total .	534

Atît[1].—(Sanskrit, *Atîta*—"past, gone by".) A term of rather vague significance, but usually regarded as synonymous with Sannyâsi. Some who are known as Sannyâsi Atîts are regular ascetics. The Gharbâri or house-holders have abandoned the celibate life and marry. They marry usually at the age of seven or eight. Widow marriage is not allowed, but it is understood that the widows of the caste very often leave the family and form irregular connections. Concubinage is allowed.

2. Atîts are Saiva Hindus, and worship Mahâbîr, Mahâdeva and Bhairon Nâth. Their priests are Brâhmans. At Mirzapur they

[1] Mainly based on a note by Pandit Râmgharib Chaubé.

put some fire into the mouth of the corpse and throw it into the Ganges. The death impurity lasts ten days, as in the case of high caste Hindus. They do not feed Mahâpâtras after a death, but Dasnâmis. Many of them are cultivators and some hold patches of rent-free land which have been granted to them by land-holders. They wear clothes dyed in ochre (*geru*), and carry a rosary of *rudrâksha* beads. Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas will not eat either *kachchi* or *pakki* from their hands; Kahârs and Nâis will do so. Brâhmans will, however, take water from them. They do not use spirits or flesh. Other people salute them by *Namo Nârâyan*; and they use the same form of salutation among themselves.

Audhiya.[1]—A tribe found in the Fatehpur District. They are known as Audhiya or Audhya, Ajudhyabâsi or Avadhapuri, and take their name from the city of Ajudhya, in Oudh. They prefer the title of Ajudhyabâsi, or residents of Ajudhya; by outsiders they are usually called Audhiya, or "Oudh men." They claim to be really Banyas, and say that they emigrated from Ajudhya; but they have no means of fixing the time of their arrival in Fatehpur. One tradition is that their movement was connected with the expedition of Râma Chandra against Lanka or Ceylon.

Divisions.

2. They are divided into two classes—Ûnch or "high," and Nîch, or "low." The former are those of pure blood; the latter, the descendants of a woman of another caste, taken as a concubine. These two classes are practically exogamous. Besides these they have no other exogamous sub-divisions, the only other restriction on marriage being that they do not receive brides from a family to which they have already given a daughter in marriage, at any rate until all recollection of the relationship has been lost.

Council.

3. A tribal council sits for the transaction of business connected with the caste. A chairman (*sarpanch*) is appointed for each meeting.

Marriage rules.

4. The marriage rules agree with those in force among high caste Hindus. The number of wives a man may have is restricted to two. If a girl is detected in immorality before marriage, she is permanently excom-

[1] Based on notes by Munshi Niyâz Ahmad, Head Master, High School, Fatehpur; also, see *Report, Inspector-General, Police, N.-W. P.*, 1868, pp. 42, 46, 111; *idem*, 1869, p. 128; *Gazetteer, N.-W. P.*, VIII, Part III, page 44; note of Mr. D. T. Roberts, *Police Commission Report*, 1890.

municated, and her parents are also put out of caste until they give a tribal feast. Some money is paid by the relations of the bride to those of the bridegroom; but there is no fixed price. A married woman can be turned out by her husband on proof of adultery. Only the children of the regularly married wives inherit their fathers' estate.

Birth ceremonies.

5. In the fifth month of pregnancy the ceremony of Panch-wâsa is celebrated on a day selected by a Brâhman. Friends are invited, and the relatives of the woman bring her presents of clothes and sweetmeats. The woman is seated inside a holy square marked out on the ground with flour by a Brâhman. The barber's wife pares the nails of all the women present, and after colouring the soles of the woman's feet with lac-dye (*mahâwar*) puts some red lead (*sendur*) in the parting (*mâng*) of her hair. Her mother, if she be alive, or if not, some senior woman of the family, fills her lap with rice and sweetmeats. She is then dressed in a new suit of clothes in the presence of the women and officiating Brâhman. On the next day the clothes are taken off and put away carefully for use when the sixth month (*chhahmâsa*) and seven months' ceremony (*satmâsa*) are performed. At these ceremonies rice-milk is cooked, and the woman is fed with it. The caste men are feasted, Brâhmans fed and paid, and the whole day is spent in merry-making. The sweeper or Chamâr midwife attends the woman for three days after delivery; then her relatives and the wife of the barber nurse her for a month. On the third day after delivery the mother is bathed at a time fixed by the advice of a Brâhman. On the sixth day is the *Chhathi*, when the mother, dressed in the clothes she wore at the *Panchmâsa* ceremony already described, is seated in a sacred square made of flour by the Brâhman, and she, with her husband's younger brother (*dewar*), is fed on choice food placed inside the square, at the four corners of which lighted lamps are placed. After this the relatives are feasted and the night is spent in merriment. During this ceremony some rude marks supposed to represent Chhathi or Shashti, the protectress of children, are made on the wall of the room (*sobar*) in which the woman was delivered; and near the figures is placed an earthen vessel full of water, covered with a saucer, on which a lamp is lighted. The mother and child are taken in there for the night and left there alone, these arrangements being supposed to be a protection against all kinds of demoniacal influence. The only

special rule about twins appears to be that it is unlucky to take anything from their hands.

Adoption.

6. The ceremony of adoption of a boy who has not been initiated by the ear piercing ceremony (*kanchhedan*), is as follows:—The pair who are about to adopt a son sit on a wooden seat (*patta*) inside a sacred square (*chauk*) made by a Brâhman on a lucky day selected by him. The parents of the boy about to be adopted, or, in their absence, his nearest relatives, place him in the lap of the person adopting him. The Brâhman then worships an earthen water vessel (*kalsa*), drums are beaten, and alms distributed to the poor. The ceremony ends with a tribal feast.

Betrothal.

7. In the betrothal ceremony the father or other near relative of the girl visits the bridegroom and secretly presents him with some money. After this, on a day fixed by a Brâhman, the father of the girl sends by a Brâhman or barber some sweetmeats, clothes, rice, betel and money, and these are laid before the boy in the presence of his kinsfolk. The barber is then given a present and dismissed. The acceptance of these presents ratifies the engagement.

Marriage.

8. The actual marriage ceremony is of the normal type. It begins with the reception (*agwâni*) of the party of the bridegroom as they approach the house of the bride. At the door two women stand, each with a water pot (*kalas*) on her head. Sharbat mixed with *bhang*, known as *mirchwân*, is distributed, and the boy being seated on a stool (*patta*), the "door worship" (*duâr-pûja*), and the worship of Ganesa are performed. The boy is seated in a sacred square (*chauk*) made of flour by a Brâhman, and near him is placed a water vessel surmounted by a lighted lamp, while the Brâhman recites sacred verses. After this the father or other near relative of the bride makes a present of money, cattle, clothes, ornaments, etc., to the bridegroom. Then follows the *bhanwar*, or perambulation round the sacred fire, which is done in the usual way. Poor people, however, do not go through all this elaborate ritual. The father of the bride and his friends take her to the house of the bridegroom, where he goes through the ceremony of *pânw-pûja* or "the worshipping of the feet" of the bridegroom, and this is the binding observance.

Death.

9. The dead are cremated in the ordinary way. If a person has died of drowning or other accident, cholera, poison, small-pox, or leprosy, the regular death ceremony (*kriya karma*) is not performed. In such cases the observance is known as *Nârâyana bala*. The corpse is at once consigned to the Ganges, and within a year a Mahâbrâhman is paid to make a representation of the deceased in gram flour, upon which the regular rites are performed. One Brâhman is fed at the end of each month, and six at the close of the sixth month. When the anniversary of the death comes round, twelve Brâhmans are feasted. The spirits of ancestors who have died childless are propitiated in the same way, and in some cases the relatives employ a Brâhman to go to Gaya and perform the regular *srâddha*.

Religion.

10. Their tribal deity is Devi. Once their children began to die, and they prayed to the goddess to save them; she heard their prayer, and since then she has been held in honour. If possible they make a pilgrimage to her shrine at Calcutta. Their family priests are Kannaujiya Brâhmans, who suffer no degradation by serving them.

Social rules.

11. They will eat with no one but a member of the caste, and object to touch none but a sweeper or Chamâr.

Occupation.

12. The Audhiyas are well known as a dangerous criminal tribe. They deal largely in counterfeit coin and false jewelry: they never commit crimes of violence. They wander over Northern India as Faqîrs, their journeys commencing generally in June and ending in April; but they are sometimes two or three years away. It is said that if a member of the caste is imprisoned he is excommunicated. They bring home cash only, and dispose of the plunder to agents at different large cities. In the districts where they reside they are perfectly well behaved. They are well-to-do, and to all appearance respectable in their habits. Their women are well-dressed, with plenty of ornaments on their persons. They have no apparent means of support. They neither cultivate land nor trade; and all that appears on the surface is that most of the men and boys go off after the rains and return at the end of the cold weather. If asked how they support themselves, they reply, by begging. Convictions have been obtained against them at Jabalpur, Benares, Patna, Mongir,

Calcutta, Gwalior, Sâgar, Murshidâbâd and Nadiya. They are not under the Criminal Tribes Act, but special Police have been quartered on them in Fatehpur. These have recently been removed. In 1890 there were ascertained to be 375 Audhiyas resident in Cawnpur, and 159 in Fatehpur. The majority of the adult males continue to absent themselves from time to time for the purpose of thieving and uttering false coin in distant places. The Audhiyas are not shown separately in the last Census returns, in which they have probably been included with the Ajudhyabâsi Banyas.

Awadhût.—(Sans. *Avadhûta* "discarded, rejected.")—A Saiva sect who practise celibacy and make their living by begging. They wear as little clothes as they can, and let their hair (*jata*) grow long. They crouch over a fire in cold weather. Their life is one of the hardest led by mendicants of this class.

Âzâd.—A Persian word signifying "free, uncontrolled," connected with the Sanskrit *jâta*, a class of Muhammadan Faqîrs, so recorded at the last Census. There are two classes of Muhammadan ascetics, the regular or Ba-shara, who follow the rules of Islâm as regards praying, fasting, alms-giving and pilgrimage; and the irregular or Be-shara, who, though nominally Musalmâns, do not accommodate their lives to the principles of any religious creed. The former are known as Sâlik, or "travellers," and the latter as Âzâd, "free," or Majzûb, "abstracted." Dr. Herklots says that the regular Âzâd class "shave their beards, moustaches, eye-brows and eyelashes; in short, the hair in every part of the body, and lead lives of celibacy. They have no inclination for reading prayers daily. If they get anything to eat, be it good or bad, they partake of it. They have no fixed place of abode; the generality of them travel and subsist on alms." [1]

[1] *Qânûn-i-Islâm*, 197.

Distribution of the Âzâd Faqîrs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Agra	5	Azamgarh . . .	174
Farrukhâbâd . . .	27	Lucknow . . .	255
Mainpuri	62	Unâo	113
Etâwah	8	Râe Bareli . . .	56
Etah	293	Sîtapur . . .	454
Shâhjahânpur . . .	201	Kheri . . .	49
Cawnpur	2	Bahrâich . . .	93
Fatehpur	10	Sultânpur . . .	201
Allahâbâd	223	Partâbgarh . . .	78
Jâlaun	1,188	Bârabanki . . .	890
Benares	29		
Gorakhpur	19	Total .	4,430

B

Bachgoti.—A sept of Râjputs. Their story is thus told:—"After the defeat of Prithivi Râj by Shahâbuddîn Ghori, some Chauhâns, under Baryâr Sinh and Kâns Râê, descendants of Chahir Deo, brother of Prithivi Râj, fled from Sambhalgarh, and wandering eastward, about 1248 A. D., settled at Jamwâwan, in the Sultânpur District. Even here, however, they felt themselves unsafe while they continued to bear the name of their proscribed race, so they deemed it prudent to adopt another, to which they were equally entitled, and which they might own with equal pride. If they belonged to the stock of their four-handed predecessor, they also belonged to the *gotra* of their creative saint. They accordingly adopted the device of concealing their lineal beneath their spiritual descent." There has been some dispute as to whether they took their new name from Vatsa, who was the author of one of the hymns of the Rig Veda, and who was perhaps the same as the sage Vatsa, who, according to Manu,[1] "when attacked, as the son of a servile mother, by the fire which pervades the world, burned not a hair by reason of his perfect veracity," or from the more celebrated Vasistha, who is the centre of a large cycle of Vedic and post-Vedic legend. The first theory is, however, the more probable of the two. A second version of this story is that Râna Sangat Deo, great-grandson of Chahir Deo, had twenty-one sons. Of these the youngest succeeded his father, when he married a bride of the Tomar sept, and of the house of Jila Patan. The other sons sought their fortunes in other parts. Baryâr Sinh and Kâns Râê went to Mainpuri, and there joined the army of Ala-ud-dîn Ghori then starting from that place on an expedition against the Bhars, and thus found their way into Oudh. Both these accounts concur in attributing the advent of the Bachgotis into Oudh to Muhammadan influence; but the one declares that they were driven before the invaders, and the other that they were led by them. It is in favour of the first that it leaves a space of fifty-five years between Prithivi Râja and Baryâr Sinh, and thus accords with the common belief that the latter was a descendant of a brother of the former; it also

[1] *Institutes, VIII, 161.*

affords a possible explanation of the assumption of the name Bachgoti.

2. On the other hand there are grounds for casting doubt on the tale of Baryâr Sinh's flight from Musalmân persecution. In the first place, there is a suspicious silence about the doings of Baryâr Sinh's ancestors during the fifty-five years interval. Again, the independent legend of the Palwârs asserts that they settled in the Faizâbâd District in 1248 A.D., the very year that Baryâr Sinh is said to have come to Oudh, and yet there is no pretence that they rendered themselves particularly obnoxious to the Musalmâns. Nor were the Palwârs the only settlers contemporary with the Bachgoti; the twelfth century, if clan traditions be believed, witnessed numerous Kshatriya emigrations into Oudh, and it is impossible to conceive that they sought refuge from Muhammadan tyranny, for governors of that creed had been established in the Province since very soon after Prithivi Râja's overthrow. Least of all, moreover, was the spot selected by Baryâr Sinh calculated to secure that end, for Jamwâwan lay within a mile or two of Kathot, which is said to have been made the head-quarters of a Musulmân officer simultaneously with the reduction of Sultânpur. On the whole it seems more probable that Baryâr Sinh was the friend of the Musalmâns rather than their foe. Shortly after his arrival at Jamwâwan he chanced one day to be leaving the village accompanied by his servant, a Kahâr, when the latter perceived a serpent on the ground with a wag-tail (*Khanjarît*) perched upon its hood, and, unfortunately for himself, drew his master's attention to the fact. For the learned in such matters have pronounced this to be an infallible omen that the beholder will sooner or later wear a crown. And Baryâr Sinh, indignant that a menial should be thus exalted, killed the Kahâr, and informed his brother, Kâns Râê, who left him in disgust, and then Baryâr Sinh entered the service of Râm Deo, chief of the Bilkhariya Dikhits of Kot Bilkhâr, near Partâbgarh, and marrying his daughter, and killing his son, Dalpat Sâh, gained his dominions. [1]

3. According to Sir C. Elliott,[2] the Bachgotis were, up to the time of Tilok Chand, the premier Râjas of Oudh, and had been vested with the right of affirming the title of each new Râja by affixing

[1] *Sultânpur Settlement Report*, 137, *sqq*.
[2] *Chronicles of Unao*, 69.

the sacred mark (*tilak*) to his brow. The two most conspicuous chiefs of the tribe are the Râja of Kûrwar and the Dîwân of Hasanpur Bandhua. "The latter, notwithstanding his being a Musalmân, and hence called Khân-Zada, invests all the Râjas of Banaudha with the *tilak*. The Somabansi chief of Araur, the Bisen of Râmpur, the Kânhpuriya of Tiloi, and Bandhalgoti of Amethi, would not be considered entitled to the privileges exercised by their ancestors without receiving it from his hands." [1]

4. In Sultânpur they are said to take brides from the Bilkhariya, Tashaiya, Chandauriya, Kath Bais, Bhâlê Sultân, Raghubansi, Gargbansi; and to give girls to the Tilokchandi Bais, Mainpuri Chauhâns, Sûrajbansis of Mahul, Gautams of Nagar, Bisens of Majhauli and Bandhalgoti. Their *gotra* is said to be Vatsa. In Jaunpur they take girls from the Raghubansi, Bais, Chaupat Khambh, Nikhumb, Dhanmast, Gautam, Gaharwâr, Panwâr, Chandel, Saunak, Drigbansi; and give them to the Kalhans, Sirnet, Gautam, Sûrajbansi, Rajwâr, Bisen, Kânhpuriya, Gaharwâr, Baghel, and Bais. In Azamgarh they take girls from the Chandel, Karmwâr, Kâkan, Birwâr, Râthaur, and Udmatiya, and give them to the Bais, Kausik, and Gautam.

Distribution of the Bachgoti Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	1	Lalitpur . . .	1
Meerut . . .	1	Benares . . .	141
Agra	1	Mirzapur . . .	911
Bareilly . . .	2	Jaunpur . . .	2,069
Budâun . . .	75	Ghâzipur . . .	968
Morâdâbâd . . .	6	Ballia . . .	7
Pilibhît . . .	1	Gorakhpur . . .	390
Cawnpur . . .	3	Basti	695
Bânda . . .	41	Azamgarh . . .	1,048
Allahâbâd . . .	1,893	Lucknow . . .	81

[1] Sir H. M. Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary, s. v.*

Distribution of the Bachgoti Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Unâo	31	Bahrâich . . .	20
Râê Bareli . . .	797	Sultânpur . . .	15,186
Hardoi . . .	1	Partâbgarh . . .	8,644
Faizâbâd . . .	1,949		
Gonda . . .	129	Total	35,992

Bâchhil; Bâchhal.—A sept of Râjputs who are by one account said to derive their name from the Hindi *bâchhna*, "to distribute." According to General Cunningham[1] they claim descent from Râja Vena, whose son was Virât, the reputed founder of Baribhâr or Virâtkhera, and whom he believes to be the same as Vîra Varma of the inscriptions. By another extraordinary feat of folk etymology they are said to have been a branch of the Pâsis, and to have derived their name from taking refuge in a garden (*bâgh*). According to a writer in the Oudh Gazetteer[2] "they are a possible link from the hoariest traditions of Indian antiquity to a middle-age period, which has been fairly chronicled, and, lastly, to the complete annals of modern times. It is the more desirable to follow out the annals of this clan, first, because it is one of the very few in Oudh which does rightfully claim an antiquity equal to that of English noble families which came in with the Conqueror; and, second, because its surviving members, though respectable, are too poor to purchase false genealogies, and so humble in the social scale as to render a fictitious pedigree of no value. Consequently they now relate only the real traditions of their ancestors."....."In 902 A.D. a local chief, named Lâla, governed at Garh Gajana, or Ilahabâs, near Dewal. This place is 16 miles south-east of Pilibhît, on the banks of the Katni rivulet. In fact, all the capitals of the Bâchhil clan—Barkhar, Nigohi, Garh Gajana, Kâmp, on the Sârda—are within a few miles of each other: two in Shâhjahânpur, west of the Gûmti, and two in Kheri, east of the old river. We know nothing of Lâla or his race, except from the inscription which he caused to

[1] *Archæological Survey*, I., 352, *sq.*
[2] II., 239, *sq.*

be cut, and the coins which are still to be found. The Bâchhils were an enterprising race in those days; they were Hindus in faith; they worshipped Vishnu under the boar *avatâra*; they had a coinage, both in silver and gold, many specimens of which have been found near their old capitals on the Katni. It seems, too, that their dynasty was of sufficient intelligence and energy to construct no less than two canals, about a hundred miles in length: one of them is still navigable, the other has somewhat silted up."

2. General Cunningham says:—"It is admitted by every one that the Katehriyas succeeded the Bâchhils; but the Katehriyas themselves state that they did not settle in Katehar till A.D. 1174. Up to this date, therefore, the Bâchhil Râjas may be supposed to have possessed the dominant power in Eastern Rohilkhand, beyond the Râmganga; while Western Rohilkhand was held by the Bhidar, Guâla, and other tribes, from whom the Katehriyas profess to have wrested it. Gradually the Bâchhils must have retired before the Katehriyas, until they had lost all their territory west of the Deoha or Pilibhît river. Here they made a successful stand, and though frequently afterwards harried by the Muhammadans, they still managed to hold their small territory between the Deoha river and the primeval forests of Pilibhît. When hard pressed they escaped to the jungle, which still skirts their ancient possessions of Garh Ganjana, and Garh Khera. But their resistance was not always successful, as their descendants confess that some 300 or 400 years ago, when their capital, Nigohi, was taken by the King of Delhi, the twelve sons of Râja Udarana, or Aorana, were all put to death. The twelve cenotaphs of these princes are still shown at Nigohi. Shortly after this catastrophe, Chhavi Râna, the grandson of one of the murdered princes, fled to the Lakhi jungle, where he supported himself by plundering. But when orders were given to exterminate his band, he presented himself before the King of Delhi, and obtained the district of Nigohi as jâgîr. The *gotrâchârya* of the Bâchhil Râjputs declares them to be Chandravansis, and their high social position is attested by their daughters being taken in marriage by Chauhâns, Râthaurs, and Kachhwâhas. The race is even more widely spread than the Gangetic Bâchhils are aware of, as Abul Fazl records that the port of Arâmrâj, in the peninsula of Gujarât, is a very strong place, inhabited by the tribe of Bâchhil. Of the origin of the name nothing is known, but it is probably connected with *bâchhna* 'to select or choose.' The title

of Chhindu, which is given in the inscription, is also utterly unknown to the people, and I can only guess that it may be the name of one of the early ancestors of the race."

3. At the same time the traditions of some members of the sept do not bear out their claim to noble lineage. Thus, in Azamgarh,[1] they assert that they are the descendants of a Râjbhar. In Shâhjahânpur[2] they fix their emigration at the time of Jaychand, of Kanauj, and they possibly settled prior to all other Thâkur clans, except the Kâsib. In Bijnor they claim to be of Sombansi origin, and to have replaced the Gûjars. In Mathura, the Sisodiyas of impure origin, who are called Gaurua, are designated Bâchhal from the Bachhban at Sehi, where their Guru always resides. They say that they emigrated from Chithor 700 or 800 years ago, but more probably after Alâuddin's famous siege in 1303 A. D.[3]

4. In Sîtapur the Bâchhals give brides to the Gaur and Tomar septs, and take girls from the Janwârs. In Kheri they marry their sons to girls of the Gaur, Nikumbh, Janwâr, Ahban, Pramâr, and Kâsib septs: and their daughters marry with the Râthaur, Bhadauriya, and Kachhwâha.

Distribution of the Bâchhal Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Sahâranpur	...	10	10
Muzaffarnagar	13	...	13
Meerut	125	...	125
Bulandshahr	1,680	102	1,782
Aligarh	402	...	402
Mathura	1,701	215	1,916
Agra	197	1	198
Farrukhâbâd	643	...	643
Mainpuri	904	...	904
Etâwah	111	...	111

[1] *Settlement Report*, App. I., 2 A.
[2] *Settlement Report*, 59.
[3] Growse, *Mathura*, 12, 356.

Distribution of the Bâchhal Rájputs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Etah	252	...	252
Bareilly	431	...	431
Bijnor	74	...	74
Budâun	2,341	...	2,341
Morâdâbâd	185	...	185
Shâhjahânpur	7,794	119	7,913
Pilibhît	298	...	293
Cawnpur	28	...	28
Fatehpur	31	...	31
Allahâbâd	5	1	6
Jâlaun	8	...	8
Benares	1	...	1
Jaunpur	...	90	90
Tarâi	6	...	6
Gorakhpur	...	70	70
Lucknow	205	...	205
Unâo	390	...	390
Râé Bareli	749	109	858
Sitapur	2,285	267	2,552
Hardoi	1,287	30	1,317
Kheri	1,496	...	1,496
Faizâbâd	...	264	264
Gonda	1	...	1
Bahrâich	282	22	404
Sultânpur	129	1	130
Partâbgarh	657	1	658
Bârabanki	611	62	673
Total .	25,422	1,364	26,786

Badhak ; Badhik.—(Sans. *Vadhaka*, a murderer.)—A vagrant criminal tribe of whom the last census shows only a small number in Mathura and Pilibhît. But there can be little doubt that these returns are incorrect, or the present Badhiks have been classed in some other way. They appear to be closely allied to the Bâwariyas and Baheliyas. According to the earliest account of them by Mr. Shakespeare [1] they were originally outcastes of Musalmân as well as Hindu tribes, the majority, however, being Râjputs.

The Gorakhpur Colony.

2. Of the Gorakhpur colony Mr. D. T. Roberts writes in a note prepared for the recent Police Commission :—"The notorious dakaits known as Badhiks were suppressed like the Thags by the capture and imprisonment of all their leaders. This done, a colony of them was settled on waste land belonging to Government in the Gorakhpur District in 1844. They evinced for a long time the greatest repugnance to honest work, and even now a good portion of the lands held by them are sublet at higher rates to other castes. The larger proportion of their holdings are let at very low rates, but some land is taken up by them at the current rates of the neighbourhood. The net profits of the estate on which they are located are paid over to the family of the original dakait leader. Surveillance, which at one time may have been very strict, has been much relaxed of late years, but there is a constable or two posted over them ; a register is kept, and they require permission from the Magistrate before they can leave the District. Dakaiti has long been given up by them, or rather was never resumed at the colony. In 1871 the Deputy Inspector-General of Police visited them, and found the colony in a very backward state. In consequence of his representations the District authorities began to take more interest in them, and they have been fairly well looked after since. The number then was 209, and the Deputy Inspector-General remarked :—"There is little doubt the tribe carries on thieving, but no cases for some time past have been brought home to them." Twenty years later, it may be said, that they are not even suspected of thieving. Though not a very advanced or industrious community, they may now be instanced as a case of successful repression and reformation. Their number has not increased since 1871, and was, in 1890, 203 in all. One of their chief offences in the Gorakhpur colony used to be illicit manufacture of spirits.

[1] *Asiatic Researches.*, XIII, 282.

Methods of crime.

3. One of their specialities used to be disguising themselves as Brâhmans and Bairâgis and associating with pilgrims returning from the Ganges, for whom they used to perform mock religious ceremonies, and then stupefy with *datûra* or thorn apple, and rob.[1] Their special deity is Kâli, to whom they offer goats as the Bâwariyas do. They eat game and vermin, such as foxes, jackals, and lizards. They believe that the use of jackal meat fortifies them against the inclemencies of winter.[2] They were in the habit of making plundering expeditions, and before starting, shares in the expected booty were allotted, a special share being given to the widow and children of any person killed or dying during the expedition. A writer in the Asiatic Journal [3] states that after the sacrifice they used to pray, "If it be Thy will, O, God! and thine, O Kâli! to prosper our undertaking for the sake of the blind and the lame, the widow and the orphan, who depend on our exertions, vouchsafe, we pray thee, the cry of the female jackal on our right." One of the most famous exploits of Badhik dakaits was the murder of Mr. Ravenscroft, the Collector of Cawnpur, of which Colonel Sleeman gives an account.[4]

4. There can be very little doubt that the tribe is of mixed origin, and is on the same grade as the Kanjars, Sânsiyas, and similar vagrants. It constitutes, in fact, a sort of Cave of Adullam for the reception of vagrants and bad characters of different tribes.

Distribution of Badhiks according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Mathura	79
Pilibhît	46
Gorakhpur	1
Total .	126

Bâghbân.—(Persian, a gardener.)—A class of cultivators in the Kheri District who grow vegetables. They are practically the same

[1] *Report, Inspector-General, Police, N. W. P.*, 1869, page 121, *sqq.*
[2] *People of India*, III., 113.
[3] 3rd S. I., 467, *sqq* : III., 186, *sqq.*
[4] *Journey through Oudh, I.*, 112.

caste as the Kâchhi (q. v.) and the Murâo. They claim to have three endogamous sub-castes—Kâchhi, Murâo, and Sâni, the last being derived from the Hindi *sânna*, to mix up, used in connection with their careful preparation of the soil. Their manners, customs, religion, etc., correspond in every way with those of the Kâchhis.

Baghel.—(Sans. *Vyâghra*, a tiger.)—A sept of Râjputs. Colonel Tod[1] calls them "the most conspicuous branch of the original Solankhi stock." The traditional history of the sept has been written by Mâharâja Raghu Râj Sinh, of Rîwa, the most famous modern representative of them, in a book known as the Bhakt Mâla. From this it would appear that their original Guru was the famous Kabîr Dâs. He once went to Gujarât to make a pilgrimage to the Western Ocean. At that time Solankha Deva was the Râja there. He was a member of the Solankhi clan. As he was childless, he prayed to Kabîr to grant him offspring. The saint heard his prayer, and promised him two sons, one of whom would have the appearance of a tiger. This was Vyâghra Deva. The priests advised the Râja to throw his son into the ocean, as he was unlucky. He followed their advice; but when Kabîr heard of this he ordered the Râja to bring him back. He did so, and Kabîr announced that the sept would be called after his name. Vyâghra Deva was also childless; but he, too, was blessed with a son through the intercession of Kabîr. His name was Jay Sinh, and he, with the permission of his grandfather, Solankha Deva, collected an army and commenced a career of conquest. He marched to the banks of the Narbada, and occupied what was known as Gorha Desa, and married his son in the Bais family of Dundhiya Khera. His successors, Karan Sinh and Kesari Sinh, carried on his conquests, and the last overcame a Musalmân Nawâb, and occupied Gorakhpur. Then followed Malâr Sinh, Sârang Deva, and Bhîmal Deva. His son, Brahm Deva, came in contact with the Gaharwârs. His most powerful successor was Bîr Sinh, who is said to have had a hundred thousand horsemen. When he conquered Prayâg or Allahâbâd, the people called in the Musalmâns. The Emperor marched to Chitrakût, where the Râja met him. The Emperor asked him why he interfered with his people. He answered,—"The Kshatriya needs a place to live in. He troubles those who trouble him." The Emperor was pleased with his bravery, and recognised his son, Bîr Bhân, as Râja. He gave him

[1] *Annals*, I., 105, *sqq*.

the blessing :—"Subdue twelve Râjas and live in Bandhugarh." Bîr Sinh extended his conquests towards the south, and reached the Tons. He gained Ratanpur as dowry for his son from the Kachwâha Râja of that place. Bîr Sinh made over his kingdom to his son, Bîr Bhân, and retired to Prayâg, where he died. Thus the kingdom of Rîwa came into the hands of the present ruling family. General Cunningham[1] fixes the emigration of the Baghels to the upper valleys of the Son and Tons between 580 and 683 Sambat (523, 626 A.D.), where they succeeded the Chandels, Kalachûris, Chauhâns, Sengars, and Gonds. In Farrukhâbâd[2] they trace their origin to Mâdhogarh, and fix their settlement in the time of Jaya Chandra, of Kanauj, which is also the story as told by Abul Fazl. Their original head-quarters was at Anogi, in Pargana Kanauj, under Harhar Deva, and his son, Harbans. Their property was acquired during the conflict between the Nawâbs of Farrukhâbâd and Oudh, and the Marhattas, and their estates fell into two divisions, Tirwa and Thatiya. The latter Râj was confiscated early in the century owing to the opposition of Chhatar Sâl to the British.

2. They give their name to Baghel-khand or Rîwa. The name of their eponymous hero, Vyâghra Deva, is probably a comparatively recent tradition, and the title is possibly totemistic, as, according to Captain Forsyth,[3] they claim descent from a tiger, and protect it whenever they can.

3. Mr. Ricketts[4] gives a bad account of the tribe in Allahâbâd :—"The most notorious gang of dacoits, which for generations has infested the south of Allahâbâd, is of this clan; and this claim of consanguinity with the Mahârâja of Rîwa has ensured their constant protection in his territories; and certainly the savage nature of the prototype of their race has pervaded the acts of these noted robbers. Each of their feats has shown the extremes of craft, treachery, and the meanest cowardice. When armed and in numbers they have murdered the single and unarmed; they have beaten women and killed children."

4. The Baghels, south of the Jumna, usually give brides to the Parihâr and Gaharwâr septs; and take wives from the Bais, Gautam, and Gaharwâr.

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[1] *Archæological Reports*, XXI., 103, *sqq.*
[2] *Settlement Report*, page 12.
[3] *Highlands of Central India*, page 278.
[4] *Census Report, N.-W. P.*, 1865, I., App. B., 129.

Distribution of the Baghel Rájputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Farrukhábád . .	2,381	Lalitpur . . .	30
Mainpuri . . .	123	Benares . . .	40
Etáwah . . .	187	Mirzapur . . .	503
Etah	26	Jaunpur . . .	10
Cawnpur . . .	236	Gházipur . . .	114
Fatehpur . . .	77	Ballia	251
Bánda	1,017	Gorakhpur . . .	1,350
Hamírpur . . .	24	Basti	444
Allahábád . . .	1,619	Azamgarh . . .	21
Jalaun	24	Partábgarh . . .	291
		Total .	8,768

Baheliya[1].—(Sans. *Vyádha*, "one who pierces or wounds," "a hunter." Root, *Vyádh*, "to pierce").—A class of hunters and fowlers. The Purânik tradition is that the father of the tribe was a barber, and the mother an *Ahír* of bad character. In Bengal, according to Mr. Risley,[2] "they insist on their title to be considered Dusâdhs, and in Bengal, at any rate, the Baheliya and Dusâdh eat and smoke together, and though they do not intermarry, behave generally as if they were branches of the same stock." This does not seem to be the case in these Provinces, where they usually call themselves a sub-caste of Pâsis. Some Baheliyas in the western districts have a tradition that they are of Bhîl descent. They say that they came from Chitrakût, in Banda, under their ancestor, the famous Vâlmîki, and were named Baheliyas by Krishna at Mathura. The Aheriyas, as will be seen by their account of themselves given in the article on that caste, profess to be identical with the Baheliyas. They are probably a relic of some non-Aryan tribe, which still adheres in a great measure to the primitive occupation of

[1] Principally based on enquiries made at Mirzapur: a few notes on the Oudh branch of the tribe have been contributed by Bâbu Sânwal Dás, Deputy Collector, Hardoi.

[2] *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 353.

hunting, bird trapping, and collecting jungle produce. The Mirzapur legend of their origin tells that Râm Chandra in his wanderings once came across a stag of golden colour which was really Marîcha, the Râkshasa, the minister of Râvana. Râm Chandra pursued the animal, which escaped. In his anger the hero rubbed his hands together, and out of the dirt (*mail*) thus produced created a man, whom he appointed his chief hunter. From him the tribe of Baheliyas are descended.

Internal structure.

2. The Census returns give as the main sub-castes the Pâsi, in Mirzapur; the Chandel and Sribâstab, in Gorakhpur; the Lagiya and Rukmaiya, of Gonda; the Chhatri and Sribâstab, of Bahrâich, and the Bhongiya, of Partâbgarh. The Baheliyas of the eastern districts name seven or really eight endogamous sub-castes—Baheliya; Chiryamâr or "bird-killers" (*chirya*="a bird," *mârna*="to kill"); Karaul, whose speciality is said to be stalking animals under cover of a tame ox used as a decoy. Mr. Sherring[1] treats them as a separate caste and describes them as possessing five sub-castes:—Purabiya, or Eastern; Hazâri or Hajâri, "commanders of a thousand men;"[2] Uttariya, or "Northern;" Koireriya, who are connected with the Koeri tribe, and Turkiya, or the Muhammadan branch. All these sub-castes are endogamous. Next, among the Baheliya proper, come the Kotiha, who are said to derive their name from being attendants at some king's palace (*kot*): the Bâjdhar or falconers (*bâz*="a falcon," *dharna*="to hold"); the Turkiya, or Muhammadan branch, and the Sûrajbans or "descendants of the sun," who say they take their name from their original settlement, a village called Sûrajpur Bahlela. To these are sometimes added the Maskâr or providers of meat (*Mânskâra*) or, as the word is sometimes pronounced, Miskâr, a corruption of Mîr Shikâr, "a chief huntsman." All the Mirzapur Baheliyas speak of Oudh as their original habitat. The Oudh Baheliyas give three sub-castes which are endogamous—Raghubansi, Pasiya, and Karaul.

Tribal council.

3. Their tribal council (*panchâyat*) is presided over by a hereditary chairman known as Sakhi, "the person who gives testimony." They, as usual,

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[1] *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 383.

[2] There is a tradition at Chunâr that Akbar garrisoned the fort with a body of Baheliyas under a Commander known as Hazâri. The descendant of the last Hazâri of Chunâr is now a runner in the Government Tahsil.

decide on cases of adultery, seduction, and breaches of caste rules regarding food, etc. Offences, when proved, are punished by a fine ranging from five rupees down to paying for the tobacco consumed by the clansmen at the meeting. Now-a-days the refreshment served round at the meetings of the council is what is called *mirchwân*, a mixture of *bhang*, chillies, sugar, and water. This has been recently substituted for liquor, either through some idea of teetotalism, or, as others say, on account of the poverty of the caste.

Marriage rules.

4. The sub-castes already named are endogamous, and they observe, in the eastern districts, the ordinary formula of exogamy, which prohibits marriage in one's own family, or that of the maternal uncle or father's sister, as long as relationship is remembered. In Oudh they will not give a bride to a family in which, within the memory of man, a son has been married. A man cannot have two sisters to wife at the same time, but he may marry one sister on the death of another. Sameness of occupation and the use of, or abstinence from, wine are carefully regarded in forming marriage connections. A man can take a second wife in the lifetime of the first wife provided the council give permission; but this is not usually granted unless she is barren or incapacitated by some disease from cohabitation. If an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue, her parents are fined five rupees, and have to feast the clansmen. Girls are usually married at the age of seven or eight. The negotiations are conducted by a Brâhman and barber. Once concluded, no physical defect is a sufficient cause for the annulment of a marriage. Wives can be put away by order of the council for adultery; but if the paramour be a member of the tribe, the offence is usually condoned by a money fine. Widows can marry by *sagâi*, but such marriages are generally made with widowers. The only ceremony is eating with the relations of the woman and making her put on new clothes and jewelry provided by her future partner. On his return home with his bride he is obliged to feast his clansmen.

Birth ceremonies.

5. During pregnancy an old woman of the family waves a pice or a handful of grain round the head of the patient and vows to present an offering to a deified ghost called Kâlu Bîr, and Niman Parihâr, who is one of the quintette of the Pânchonpîr, and is supposed to have some special connection with the use of spirituous liquors. The woman is attended by the Chamâin midwife, who cuts the cord and buries

it outside the house. At the entrance of the delivery room a fishing net, a branch of the thorny *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) and the family pestle are placed to keep off malignant spirits; and a fire is kept lighting there during the period of impurity with the same object. They have the usual dread of menstrual impurity common to all these races. On the day her child is born the mother gets no food, except a mixture of ginger and coarse sugar mixed up in water. From the next day she receives her usual food. Those who have lost their children get the baby's ears bored before it leaves the delivery room. On the sixth day is the Chhathi, when mother and child are bathed. From this time the place of the midwife is taken by the barber's wife, who attends till the twelfth day, when the *barahi* ceremony is performed. The house is plastered and the earthen vessels replaced. The nails of the mother and all the family are cut, mother and child are bathed, and the clansmen are feasted on wine and cakes (*púri*). When the mother first visits the well after her confinement she bows down to it and offers fried gram (*ghughuri*) on the platform, which she also marks with a little red lead, a practice which may be a survival of some form of sacrifice, human or animal. If the child is a boy the midwife receives four annas and two *sers* of grain: for a girl, two annas and the same amount of grain. They so far practise the couvade that the husband does not work on the day his child is born. The original motive has been forgotten, and the explanation given is that he does so to express his joy at his wife's safe delivery. At the age of five or seven the child's ears are bored, and this is considered an initiation into caste: after this the child must observe the caste regulations regarding food.

Marriage ceremonies.

6. The marriage ceremonies are of the ordinary low-caste type. A Bráhman is consulted as to whether the union is likely to be propitious (*garna ganna*). The betrothal is concluded by giving the bride's father a rupee or less to clench the bargain. Baheliyas appear invariably to marry their brides by the *dola* form, in which the ceremonies are performed at the house of the bridegroom. Some eight days before the wedding the bride is brought over to the bridegroom's house. Two or three days before the wedding day a pavilion (*mánro*) is erected, in the centre of which a ploughshare (*haris*), the stalk of a plantain tree and a bamboo are fixed. Under these are placed the family pestle and mortar and grindstone for spices. Besides these are placed a water

jar (*kalsa*) covered with a saucer (*parai*) filled with barley and decorated with lumps of cowdung and splashes of red lead. The same evening the *matmangar* ceremony is performed in the usual way. The day before the wedding is the *bhatwán*, when the clansmen are feasted. On the wedding day the bridegroom is bathed, his nails are pared, and he is dressed in a red coat with a yellow loin cloth. He then parades on horseback through the village, and on his return sits down with his clansmen. At night he is called into the house, and he and the bride are seated in a square in a courtyard, when the bride's father washes their feet with water (*páwpúja*). The Brâhman then recites the verses (*mantra*), and the pair worship Gauri and Ganesa. The bride's father, then taking some *kusa* grass and water, gives his daughter to the bridegroom (*kanyadán*). He next applies red lead to the parting of her hair: their clothes are knotted together, and they move five times round the centre pole of the pavilion, while parched maize is thrown over them (*lawa parachhan*). The pair go into the retiring room (*kohabar*), where his brother-in law's wife (*sarhaj*) plays jokes on the bridegroom by sitting on his back and refusing to release him until she receives a present. A lighted lamp with two wicks is placed there, and the bridegroom joins the two wicks together as an emblem of union with the bride. Next follows a feast to the clansmen, who return next day. After the marriage is concluded Kâlu Bîr and Parihâr are worshipped. On the fourth day after the wedding, the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by the barber's wife, go to a neighbouring tank or stream and then drown the sacred water jar (*kalsa*) and the marriage festoons (*bandanwár*). On their way home they worship the old fig trees of the village, which are supposed to be the abode of evil spirits, with an offering of water and washed rice (*achchhat*). Some offer also sweetmeats and grain. The binding part of the marriage ceremony is the washing of the bridegroom's feet by the bride's father, and the rubbing of red lead by the bridegroom on the parting of the bride's hair.

Death ceremonies.

7. When a man is dying he is taken into the open air and gold, Ganges water, and leaves of the *tulasi* (*ocymum sanctum*) put into his mouth. If these things are not procurable, curds and coarse sugar are used. Four men carry the corpse to the cremation ground, where the body is washed, shrouded in new cloth, and the hair shaved. It is then laid on the pyre, with the legs turned towards the south. The

next-of-kin walks round five times and burns the mouth with a torch of straw, and then fires the pyre. On their return home the mourners chew the leaves of the bitter Nîm tree, and pass their feet through the smoke of burning oil. Next day the Pandit gets the barber to hang a water jar from the branch of a pîpal tree. That day the clansmen are fed. The feast is known as "the boiled rice of milk" (*dúdh ka bhát*). The period of mourning is ten days, during which the chief mourner keeps apart, and always carries a water vessel (*lota*) and a knife to protect him from evil spirits. He cooks for himself, and, before eating, lays a little food outside the house for the use of the dead. He bathes daily and renews the water in the pot (*ghant*) hung up for the dead man. On the tenth day the clansmen assemble at a tank, shave, bathe, and throw the rice balls (*pinda*) in the water. The Mahâbrâhman receives the clothes and personal effects of the dead man, which he is supposed to pass on for his use in the next world. A feast to the clansmen concludes the period of mourning. They make the usual offerings to the dead (*srâddha*) in the first fortnight of Kuâr.

Religion.

8. Baheliyas are seldom regularly initiated into any Hindu sect. Their clan deities, in the Eastern Districts, are Kâlu Bîr and Parihâr, who are worshipped at the Kajari festival, in the month of Sâwan. To Kâlu Bîr a young pig is offered, and wine poured on the ground. Parihâr receives a sacrifice of fowls and cakes. In Oudh they worship Hardeo or Hardaur Lâla, the cholera godling. His offering consists of cakes, fruit, etc. To Kâlê Deo a goat is sacrificed, and a pig to Miyân. Men alone join in this worship. Parched grain and milk are offered to the household snake at the Nâgpanchami festival. They respect the Sun and Moon, bow to them, but do not give them any special worship. The ordinary low village Brâhmans act as their priests at domestic ceremonies. They consume the animals they sacrifice, except pigs, from which most abstain. They have the usual Hindu festivals—the Phagua, Kajari and Dasami.

Social habits and customs.

9. The women wear nose rings (*nathiya*), ear ornaments (*karanphúl*), necklaces, wristlets (*dharkana*), arm ornaments (*bájn*), and anklets (*pairi, kara*). Like other Hindus they give two names to their children. They swear by the Ganges, on their own heads, and on those of their sons. They believe in magic and witchcraft, but do not practise these

arts themselves. They will not kill a cow, monkey, or squirrel; they will not touch a Bhangi, Dom, Dhobi, or the wife of their younger brother or nephew. They drink liquor freely, and eat the flesh of fowls, goats, deer, and sheep, but not pork or beef. Men eat first, and women after them. They salute by the form *pailagi* or the ordinary *saldm*; Brâhmans and Râjputs drink water from their hands; Banyas eat *pakki* cooked by them; Chamârs and other menials eat *kachchi*.

Occupation.

10. Their occupation is hunting and trapping birds. Those who live by bird-catching are often known as Miskâr, said to be a corruption of *mîr shikâr* "head huntsman," or *mâskâr*, "eater of meat." They have a most ingenious mode of trapping birds with a series of thin bamboos, like a fishing rod, on which bird-lime (*lâsa*) is smeared. This they push with great adroitness through the branches and leaves where a bird is sitting, and entangle his wings and feathers. They make excellent shikâris, and are noted for their skill in tracking game. Some work in the Mirzapur lac factories, and a few cultivate as non-occupancy tenants. They are a fine, active, manly race, but notoriously untrustworthy.

Distribution of Baheliyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.				Muhammadans.	Total.
	Karaul.	Raghubansi.	Sûrajbansi	Others.		
Sahâranpur .	...	...	...	2	...	2
Muzaffarnagar .	...	...	...	...	229	229
Meerut . .	...	...	...	20	42	62
Bulandshahr .	...	...	...	38	12	50
Mathura . .	...	..	...	199	12	211
Agra . . .	354	80	...	131	...	565
Farrukhâbâd .	1,279	1,140	...	655	21	3,104
Mainpuri . .	753	414	...	403	10	1,580
Etâwah . .	325	630	...	332	1	1,288
Etâh . . .	...	247	...	47	...	294

Distribution of Baheliyas according to the Census of 1891 – contd.

District.	Hindus.				Muhammadans.	Total.
	Karanl.	Raghubansi.	Sûrajbansi.	Others.		
Bareilly . .	...	...	...	41	232	273
Bijnor . .	...	...	...	31	...	31
Morâdâbâd . .	...	...	...	53	7	60
Shâhjahânpur .	251	2,108	...	712	...	3,071
Pilibhît . .	...	870	...	132	116	1,118
Cawnpur . .	2,482	33	5	456	...	2,976
Fatehpur . .	1	...	132	102	...	205
Bânda . .	...	...	24	86	...	110
Allahâbâd . .	25	1	355	912	33	1,326
Jhânsi . .	...	...	4	40	...	44
Jâlaun . .	...	...	...	36	...	36
Lalitpur . .	...	...	...	17	...	17
Benares . .	16	...	...	541	20	577
Mirzâpur . .	...	...	...	1,152	4	1,156
Jaunpur . .	...	...	...	322	...	322
Ghâzipur . .	11	...	...	80	...	91
Ballia . . .	...	...	...	1	...	1
Gorakhpur . .	2	...	223	1,222	2	1,449
Basti . . .	...	56	422	...	205	683
Azamgarh . .	...	...	30	256	...	286
Tarâi . . .	...	...	...	11	100	111
Lucknow . .	19	...	226	501	176	922
Unâo . . .	...	...	...	151	143	294
Rûâ Bareli . .	...	...	...	524	...	524
Sîtapur . .	...	...	31	866	18	915
Hardoi . .	...	...	203	136	...	339

Distribution of Baheliyas according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindus.				Muhammadans.	Total.
	Karaul.	Raghubansi.	Sûrajbansi.	Others.		
Kheri . . .	...	...	...	617	...	617
Faizâbâd . .	...	...	923	408	...	1,331
Gonda . .	4	...	86	956	171	1,217
Bahrâich . .	44	...	615	1 310	106	2,075
Sultânpur . .	...	...	571	582	...	1,153
Partâbgarh . .	...	...	1,186	1,264	...	2,450
Bârabanki . .	...	...	262	237	...	499
Total .	5,566	5,588	5,298	15,642	1,660	33,754

Baidguâr.—A small Muhammadan caste shown at the last Census only in Moradâbâd (173) and Pilibhît (247). The information obtained about them is not very precise; but there can be little doubt that they are an off-shoot of the Baid Banjâras. It is said that formerly the Baid followed the occupation of carrying grain on pack animals: while the Guâr used to make hemp matting (*tât*), and tend cattle. Since their conversion to Islâm they are known collectively as Baidguâr, but the two divisions do not intermarry. The Census returns give their sections as Baghâri, Chauhân, Mahrora, Nahar, Sadîqi, Shaikh, and Tomar.

Bairâgi.—(Sans. *Vairâgya*, "freedom from passion.")—A term applied to a sect of Hindu ascetics, which is often used in rather a vague sense. On this sect Mr. Maclagan writes[1]:—"The worship of Râma and Krishna is said to be of comparatively recent date; and Professor Wilson points out that in the Sankara Vijaya, published by a pupil of Sankara Achârya, the religious leader who is supposed to have lived in the ninth or tenth century, no mention whatever is made of Râma or Krishna, or Lakshmana or Hanumân. The popularity of this particular form of worship is supposed to date from the time of the spread of the Râjput power, which followed the overthrow of the Buddhist dynasties. The various orders who attach themselves to the worship of Râma and

[1] *Panjâb Census Report*, 122, *sqq.*

Krishna are generally known as Bairâgis. The appearance of these orders dates from the period at which the worship of Râma and Krishna appears to have been in the ascendant, and though primarily they have their origin in the Dakkhin, their strength is, and has been, mainly in the North-West Provinces, where the worship of Râma and Krishna has always been strongest.

"The history of the Bairâgis commences with Ramânuja, who taught in the south of India, and who is supposed to have lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But it is not till the time of Râmanand, that is until the end of the fourteenth century, that the sect was in any way powerful or important in Northern India; and, indeed, it is only to the followers of Râmanand or his contemporaries that the term Bairâgi is properly applied. The split occasioned by the secession of Râmanand was, like most of the movements in modern Hinduism, a revulsion of the more liberal Northern thinkers against the stricter doctrines of Southern Hindustân. The sect founded by Râmanand was, nominally at least, open to all castes, whereas previous to his time Brâhmans and Kshatriyas alone were admitted, and many of his followers, who founded important schools of doctrine, were men of the humbler classes. The movement started by Râmanand was essentially popular, and the books published by his adherents were written in the tongue of the people, no longer in Sanskrit, but in Hindi—a departure which has been very far-reaching in its results, and which has led in the Panjâb to a new scripture, and a new national religion of a very clear and vigorous type."

Divisions of the Bairâgis.

2. At the last Census in these Provinces the Bairâgis were classed in three great sub-divisions—Mâdhavachârya, Nimâwat, and Râmanandi. On this Mr. Maclagan writes:—"The Bairâgis have, however, been so far outdone by the newer sects which have sprung from the original stock, that they may be now looked upon as representing orthodox Hinduism, in contrast to the more independent schools of thought. As a rule they venerate both Krishna and Râma, but there are sections of them which pay more reverence to the one, and others that pay more reverence to the other. There are always supposed to have been four sections of Bairâgis, but it appears a little uncertain what the four sections are. There are at least four enumerations:—

"(*a*) Râmanandi; Nîmanandi; Vishnuswâmi; Mâdhavachârya.

"(*b*) Ramânuja; Mâdhavachârya; Vishnuswâmi; Nimikharakswâmi.

"(*c*) Râmanandi; Nimânuja; Mâdhavachârya; Vallabhachârya.

"(*d*) Râmanandi; Biganandi; Mâdhavachârya; Vishnuswâmi.

In the Panjâb there are practically two main sections only, namely, the Râmanandi and Nîmanandi, of whom the former are more specially addicted to the worship of Râma, and the latter to that of Krishna. They both hold a great feast on the death of a fellow devotee, and also on the Râmnaumi, [the day of the incarnation of Râmchandra, and on the eighth day of Bhâdon, the incarnation day of Krishna. But the Râmanandis study the Râmâyana, and look on Ajudhya and Râmnâth as places of pilgrimage, while the Nîmanandis study the books relating to Krishna, and consider Mathura, Brindâban and Dwârikanâth to be sacred places. The forehead marks of the Râmanandis are in the form of a trident, of which the two outer prongs are white, and the central one white or red; while those of the Nîmanandis are two-forked only, and entirely in white. The shape of the latter emblem is said to be derived from the figures of the Narasinha Avatâra, and the Nîmanandis are stated to be special worshippers of this incarnation."

3. In these Provinces, according to one authority,[1] the four primary orders of the Bairâgis are Ramânuji or Sri Vaishnava, Nîmâvat, or Nimbârak, Vishnuswâmi and Mâdhavachârya; each of these orders is called a *samprâda* or sect, and all four mess together. Of the Sri Vaishnava Mr. Growse[2] writes:—"The most ancient and respectable of the four reformed Vaishnava communities is based on the teaching of Ramânuja, who flourished in the eleventh or twelth century A.D. Their sectarial mark is two white perpendicular streaks down the forehead, joined by a cross line at the root of the nose, with a streak of red between. Their chief dogma, called Vasisthadwaita, is the assertion that Vishnu, the one Supreme God, though invisible as cause, is as effect visible in a secondary form in material creation. They differ in one marked respect from the mass of the people at Brindâban,—in that they refuse to recognise Râdhâ as an object of religious adoration. In

[1] Râja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 188.

[2] *Mathura*, 179, *sq.*

this they are in complete accord with all the older authorities, which either totally ignore her existence, or regard her simply as Krishna's mistress, and Rukminî as his wife. Their formula of initiation (*mantra*) is said to be *Om Râmâya namah, i.e.*, "Om! Reverence to Râma!" This sect (*sampradâya*) is divided into two sects, the Tenkalai and the Vadakalai.[1] They differ in two points of doctrine, which, however, are considered of much less importance than what seems to outsiders a very trivial matter, *viz.*, a slight variation in the way of making the sectarial mark on the forehead. The followers of the Tenkalai extend its middle line a little down the nose itself, while the Vadakalai terminate it exactly at the bridge. The doctrinal points of difference are as follows:—The Tenkalai maintain that the female energy of the godhead, though divine, is still a finite creature that serves only as a mediator or minister (*parushakâra*) to introduce the soul into the presence of the Deity; while the Vadakalai regard it as infinite and uncreated, and in itself a means (*upâya*) by which salvation can be assured. The second point of difference is parallel to the controversy between the Calvinists and Armenians in the Christian Church. The Vadakalai, with the latter, insist on the concomitance of the human will in the work of salvation, and represent that the soul lays hold of God as a young monkey which grasps its mother in order to be conveyed to a place of safety. The Tenkalai, on the contrary, maintain the irresistibility of divine grace and the utter helplessness of the soul till it is seized and carried off by its mother like a kitten to be conveyed to a place of safety. From these two curious but apt illustrations the one doctrine is known as *markata kishora nyâya*, the other as *marjala kishora nyâya*, the young monkey theory," or the "kitten theory."

The Nimbârak sect.

4. Of the Nimbârak Mr. Growse[2] writes:—"The word means 'the sun in a *nîm* tree,' a curious designation which is explained as follows:—The founder of the sect, an ascetic, by name Bhaskarachârya, had invited a Bairâgi to dine with him, but unfortunately delayed to fetch his guest until after sunset. Now the holy man was forbidden by the rules of his order to eat except in the daytime, and was

[1] These terms are Kanarese and mean "Southerners" and "Northerners,"—Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha*, 613.

[2] *Loc. cit*, 181, *sq.*

greatly afraid that he would be compelled to practise an unwilling abstinence; but at the solicitation of his host the Sun God, Sûraj Nârâyan, descended from the *Nîm* tree, under which the repast was spread, and continued beaming upon them until the claims of hunger were fully satisfied. Thenceforth the saint was known by the name of Nîmbarka or Nimaditya. Their doctrines, so far as they are known, are of a very enlightened character. Thus their doctrine of salvation by faith is thought by many scholars to have been directly derived from the Gospel; while another article in their creed, which is less known but is equally striking in its divergence from ordinary Hindu sentiment, is the continuance of conscious individual existence in a future world, when the highest reward of the good will be not extinction, but in the enjoyment of the visible presence of the divinity whom they have served while on earth: a state, therefore, absolutely identical with heaven, as our theologists define it. The one infinite and invisible God, who is the only real existence, is, they affirm, the only proper object of man's devout contemplation. But as the incomprehensible is utterly beyond the reach of human faculties, He is partially manifested for our behoof in the book of Creation, in which natural objects are the letters of the universal alphabet, and express the sentiments of the Divine Author. A printed page, however, conveys no meaning to any one but a scholar, and is liable to be misunderstood even by him; so, too, with the book of the world. And thus it matters little whether Râdhâ and Krishna were ever real personages, the mysteries of divine love which they symbolise remain though the symbols disappear."

Distribution of the Bairâgis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Mâdhava Achârya.	Nimâwat.	Râmanandi.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	...	530	139	669
Sahâranpur . . .	...	...	...	43	43
Muzaffarnagar . . .	...	...	541	446	987
Meerut	...	156	1,586	2,396	4,138
Bulandshahr . . .	...	...	429	2,279	2,708
Aligarh	...	...	974	3,183	4,157

Distribution of the Bairâgis according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Mâdhava Achârya	Nimâwat.	Râmamandi.	Others.	Total.
Agra	4	...	496	1,259	1,759
Farrukhâbâd . . .	...	12	60	233	305
Mainpuri	...	9	...	89	98
Etâwah	...	...	22	268	290
Etah	1	1	35	160	197
Bareilly	...	...	148	610	758
Bijnor	...	...	...	539	539
Budâun	...	2	120	397	519
Morâdâbâd . . .	3	...	1	239	243
Shâhjahânpur . . .	...	...	241	600	841
Pilibhît	...	12	57	335	404
Cawnpur	...	...	61	389	450
Fatehpur	...	...	17	128	145
Bânda	1	...	52	...	53
Hamîrpur	...	...	45	163	208
Allahâbâd	2	1	58	312	373
Jhânsi	...	3	58	109	170
Jâlaun	2	28	22	183	234
Lalitpur	...	4	39	224	267
Benares	...	...	...	141	141
Mirzapur	...	...	28	149	177
Jaunpur	...	...	...	204	204
Ghâzipur	...	...	82	826	908
Ballia	...	...	...	257	257
Gorakhpur . . .	...	33	295	1,122	1,450
Basti	...	...	1	1,286	1,287
Azamgarh	...	...	...	9	9

Distribution of the Bairâgis according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Mâdhava Achârya.	Nimâwat.	Râmamandi.	Others.	Total.
Kumâun	...	...	...	25	25
Garhwâl	...	...	...	105	105
Tarâi	...	...	24	24	48
Lucknow	...	...	291	1,439	1,730
Unâo	...	...	17	...	17
Râê Bareli	...	...	27	6	33
Sîtapur	...	...	161	335	496
Hardoi	...	..	...	337	337
Kheri	...	...	348	396	744
Faizâbâd	...	...	1,474	543	2,017
Gonda	...	...	877	64	941
Bahrâich	...	...	19	201	220
Sultânpur	...	...	47	69	116
Total	13	261	9,283	22,321	31,878

Bais.—(Sans: *Vaishya*, "one who occupies the soil".)—A very important and influential sept of Râjputs, widely distributed all over the Province. Their legend is thus given by Sir C. Elliott[1]:—"The Bais assert themselves to be descended from Sâlivâhana, the mythic son of a snake who conquered the great Râja Vikramaditya, of Ujjain, and fixed his own era in A. D. 55. About 1250 A. D. the Gautam Râja of Argal refused to pay tribute to the Lodi King of Delhi, and defeated the Governor of Oudh, who sent a force against him. Soon after this defeat, the Râni, without his knowledge and without fitting escort, went secretly to bathe, at Baghsar, in the Ganges, on the festival of the new moon. Baghsar is close to Dundiya Khera. Sir H. M. Elliot places the locale of this story at Allahâbâd; but the other is the tradition current in Baiswâra, and seems more probable, because Baghsar is closer to Argal, and is the nearest bathing place she could have gone to, and, secondly, Allahâbâd

[1] *Chronicles of Unâo*, 66, *sq.*

being a much-frequented place of pilgrimage, she would hardly have gone there in any case without an escort, particularly as it was the head-quarters of the Muhammadan Governor. The Governor of Oudh heard of her arrival and sent men to capture her. Her escorts were dispersed, and she was on the point of being made prisoner, when she lifted the covering of her litter and cried,—"Is there no Chhatri who will rescue me from the barbarian, and save my honour?" Abhay Chand and Nirbhay Chand, two Bais Râjputs, from Mungipatan, heard her, and came to her rescue, beat off her assailants, and guarded her litter till she arrived safely at her home in Argal, in the Fatehpur District. Nirbhay Chand died of his wounds, but Abhay Chand recovered, and the Râja, in gratitude for his gallant rescue, gave him his daughter in marriage, and with her as dowry all the lands on the north of the Ganges, over which the Gautam bore rule. He also conferred on his son-in-law the title of Râo, which is still the highest dignity among the Bais. Abhay Chand fixed his home in Dundiya Khera, and the title and estates descended, in an unbroken line, to Tilok Chand, the great eponymous hero of the clan, who are called after him Tilok Chandi Bais, in contradistinction to other branches of the same tribe. He lived about 1,400 A. D., and extended the Bais dominion over all the surrounding country, and it is from his victories that the limits of Baiswâra became definitively fixed. The tract is universally said to include twenty-two Parganas, and though there is considerable discrepancy in the various lists of these Parganas, which are furnished from different quarters, the following list is probably correct:—

Râê Bareli and Unâo Districts:—Dundiya Khera, Unchhgâon, Kumhi, Bâr, Kahanjar, Ghâtampur, Serhupur, Makraid, Dalmau, Bareli, Bihâr, Pathan, Panhan, Sathanpur, Harha, Purwa, Morâwan, Sirwan, Asoha, Gorinda, Parsandan.

Lucknow District:—Bijnaur."

Tilok Chand was the premier Râja of Oudh, and his descendants are never weary of telling stories of his almost divine and unequalled power. He once turned the Kahârs, who carried his palanquin, into Râjputs; and one account of the Bhâlê Sultân sept in Faizâbâd is that they were Bâris, or link-boys, in his service.

Origin.

2. In Faizâbâd the Bais say that they came from Baiswâra about five hundred years ago, and expelled the Bhars; but this story is disbelieved by Mr.

Carnegy[1] on the ground that there were few Bais even in Baiswâra in those days. He believes the Faizâbâd colony to be of local origin. They are divided into two great families, the Eastern and the Western, who, though they eat together, recognise no relationship, and retain the memory of bitter border warfare with each other. The Pargana of Mangalsi is overrun by different independent Bais colonies, the members of which say they came from the West (no one knows from where) and expelled the Bhars two or three centuries or, according to their pedigree tables, sixteen generations ago. There are traditions of a Gautam (Sombansi) colony founded by Mangalsen, from whom the Pargana takes its name, who is said to have been a cadet of the great Fatehpur house of Argal. But the Gautams were long ago pushed across the river Ghâgra. It is noteworthy that the Muhammadans, who produce title deeds more than three hundred years old, declare that Mangalsen was not a Gautam but a Bhar. Another curious fact is that both the Muhammadans and the few Gautams who are left are shown by Mr. Woodburn to pay the feudal tribute (*bhent*) to the Bais headmen. How long they have done so is not very clear, but the conclusion from all this is, according to Mr. Carnegy, that the local Bais are the indigenous Bhars; that the Bhars became Bais about or after the Muhammadan conquest; the Gautam footing was by marriage with the Bais, and the Muhammadans succeeded to the Bais Bhars. These conclusions of Mr. Carnegy must be received with some degree of caution. That the Bais of the Faizâbâd District may have some admixture of indigenous blood is more than probable; but at the same time that they have a large basis of Râjput blood may be regarded as quite certain.

Customs.

3. Of the sept in Râe Bareli we read:—"The Bais clan differ from all other Râjputs somewhat in their customs. Neither men nor women, rich or poor, will put a hand to cultivation or labour of any sort; the women wear one long cloth, which is fastened round their waists about the middle, the lower folds covering the lower portions of the person, and the upper parts being thrown over the shoulders. They are supposed to be more addicted to the crime of infanticide than other Râjputs, and they divide their inheritance according to a system of primogeniture

[1] *Settlement Report*, 213, 276, *sq.*

by which the three elder sons receive larger shares than the younger ones."

Bais of Mainpuri.

4. The Bais of Bewar, in the Mainpuri District, are immigrants from Dundiya Khera, and as far back as 1391-92 A.D., in concert with the Râthaurs, they created such a disturbance here that it was found necessary to send out large bodies of Imperial troops to quell them. Deoli, their chief seat in Barnahal, is mentioned in the Târîkh-i-Mabârik Shâh as a very strong place, in the possession of infidels, and as having been attacked and destroyed in 1420 A.D. by Sultân Khizr Khân on his march from Koil to Etâwah.[1]

Sâlivâhana.

5. The tribal hero of the sept is Sâlivâhana. He appears to have been an historical character, and has been identified by General Cunningham[2] with Gotamiputra Satakarni of the Kanhari and Nâsik inscriptions. The tradition is thus told by a writer in the Oudh Gazetteer[3]:—"A son of the great world serpent was born under the roof of a potter of Mûngi Pâtan, which, by one account, is on the Narbada, and, by another, is on the Godâvari, in the Ahmadnagar District, and early showed, by his wit and strength, that he was destined to be a king. As a judge among his youthful companions, by what would now be considered a simple process of cross-examination, he excited the wonder of a people unaccustomed to law courts; and deserved and received the same kind of honour that was accorded to Daniel by the Jews of the Captivity after his successful investigation of the case of Susanna and the Elders. His amusement was to make clay figures of elephants, horses, and men-at-arms, and before he had well reached manhood, he led his fictile army to do battle with the great King Vikramaditya. When the hosts met, the clay of the young hero became living brass, and the weapons of his enemies fell harmless on the hard material. Vikramaditya fled and took refuge in a large temple of Siva, whither he was pursued by Sâlivâhana. At the mere sound of the boy's voice the ponderous gates of the temple rolled back, and Vikramaditya acknowledged his conqueror with appropriate homage. A reasonable arrangement was made on the spot for the partition of the royal power, and on the elder king's death, Sâlivâ-

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[1] *Settlement Report*, 20.
[2] *Archæological Reports*, V., 20.
[3] III., 221.

hana became undisputed Râja of India. Later in life he conquered the Panjâb and died and was buried at Siâlkot." This tradition of serpent origin is perpetuated in the tribal tradition that "no snake has or ever can destroy one of the family. They seem to take no precautions against the bite, except hanging a vessel of water over the head of the sufferer, with a small tube in the bottom, from which the water is poured on his head as long as he can bear it."[1] The cobra is in fact the tribal totem.

Other Settlements of the Bais.

6. The Farrukhâbâd story is that the emigrants from Dundiya Khera were led by two brothers, Hansrâj and Bachrâj, that they were first subject to the aboriginal Bhyârs, but finally turned against them and established themselves in Sakatpur and Saurikh, and also in a few villages across the Isan Nadi.[2] In Budaun there are two sub-divisions, Chaudhari and Râê, so called from the two sons of their traditional leader, Dalîp Sinh, of Baiswâra. They dated their immigration in Basti only five or six generations before Dr. Buchanan wrote.[3] In Gorakhpur some call themselves Nâgbansi, and say that they are sprung from the nose of the mythical cow, Kâmdhenu, which belonged to the Rishi Vasishtha. The Ghâzipur branch claim descent from Baghel Râe, who came from Baiswâra fifteen generations ago, and colonized the jungle.[4] Their emigration into Rohilkhand is not placed earlier than the time of Akbar.

Sub-divisions of the Bais.

7. Numerous castes in the Faizâbâd and Gonda Districts, such as the Gandhariyas, the Naipuriyas, the Barwârs, and the Châhus, claim to have been originally Bais, while the equal lengths of their pedigrees show that they were established in these districts at about the beginning of the sixteenth century. There are, besides, numerous families of small landowners in the east of Râê Bareli, who call themselves Bharadîh Bais, and whose want of any tradition of emigration and peculiar religion distinguish them from the pure Bais of the west. Another division is that of Bhîtariya and Bâhariya or "the outer" and "the inner" Bais.[5] "The Brâhmans of Sultânpur relate that Tilok Chand in his old age, like another king of distinguished wisdom, supported

[1] *Sleeman, Journey through Oudh*, I., 264.
[2] *Settlement Report*, 12.
[3] *Eastern India*, II., 380. 460.
[4] Oldham, *Memo.* 65.
[5] *Oudh Gazetteer, III.*, 227.

the prodigious responsibility of an establishment of three hundred wives, and became the father of a family countless as the sands of the sea. The Princesses of Rîwa and Mainpuri, to whom he had originally been married, disgusted by an association in which the dignity of castes had not been respected, fled from his castle and gave rise to a distinction between the Bais from within (Bhîtariya) and the Bais from without (Bâhariya); those from without being the offspring of pure Râjput blood, while those from within were of contaminated lineage, and occupied a doubtful position in the castes system." But the most important distinction is between the Tilokchandi Bais or the descendants of Tilok Chand, and Kath Bais, or "wooden" Bais. Of these Colonel MacAndrew writes [1]:—"These call themselves Tilokchandi Bais to distinguish them from the Kath Bais, who are supposed to be the offspring of the real Bais by women of inferior caste. The Tilokchandi Bais will neither eat nor intermarry with them. An instance of this was exemplified the other day when the proposal was made that the Bais should erect a bridge over the Sâi at Râê Bareli. The Tilokchandis proposed that the Kath Bais should subscribe. The latter at once expressed their willingness to do so, provided the Tilokchandis would acknowledge them to be Bais by eating with them. Nothing more was heard of the proposal that they should subscribe." The Tilokchandi Bais according to Sir H. M. Elliot, [2] are sub-divided into four clans, Râo, Râwat, Naihatha, and Sainbansi, all of whom profess to derive their rights from the Gautam Râja of Argal. He says that beside the Tilokchandi, there are said to be no less than three hundred and sixty sub-divisions of the Bais, the descendants of as many wives of Sâlivâhana. Among these the most noted are the Tilsâri, Chak Bais, Nânwag, Bhanwag, Bach, Parsariya, Patsariya, Bijhoniya, Bhatkariya, Chanamiya, or Gargbans, but it may be doubted if these are really Bais.

Religion and social standing.

8. There is nothing peculiar about the religion of the Bais except their tribal worship of the snake, and their reverence for a clan goddess, Mathotê, who is worshipped at the Mathotepur fair, in the Sîtapur District. She became a Sati at the death of her consort. The ordinary Bais give their daughters in marriage, amongst others, to the Sengar, Bhadauriya,

[1] *Râê Bareli Settlement Report*, 8.
[2] *Supplementary Glossary*, *sv.*

Chauhân, Kachhwâha, Gautam, Parihâr, Dikhit and Gaharwâr Râjputs, and receive daughters in marriage from the Banâphar, Janwâr, Khîchar, Raghubansi, Raikwâr, Karchauli, and Gahlot. The Tilokchandi Bais ally themselves only with septs of the bluest blood. The Bais in Faizâbâd take brides from the Bachgoti, Bhâlê Sultân, Kalhans, and Kânhpuriya septs, and they give their daughters to the Gaharwâr, Bisen, Sombansi, Bhadauriya, Chauhân, and Kachhwâha septs. In Ballia they take wives from the Ujjaini, Haihobans, Kinwâr, Nikumbh, Sengar, Kausik, Râghubansi, Sûrajbansi, Bhrigubansi, Barhauliya, Gaharwâr, Gautam, Kâkan, Donwâr, Jâdon, Kachhwâha, Chauhân, Bisen, Nâgbansi, Sakarwâr, Baghel, Sombansi, Udmatiya, Solankhi, Chandel, Parihâr, and give brides to the Sirnet, Râjkumâr, Drigbansi, Maunas, Kachhwâha, and, in rare cases, to the Ujjaini. Their gotra is Bhâradwâja.

Distribution of the Bais Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	1	48	49
Sahâranpur	185	65	250
Muzaffarnagar	109	250	359
Meerut	578	...	578
Bulandshahr	178	197	375
Aligarh	707	11	718
Mathura	231	16	247
Agra	1,022	4	1,026
Farrukhâbâd	6,688	10	6,698
Mainpuri	4,073	5	4,078
Etâwah	1,828	9	1,837
Etah	2,050	80	2,130
Bareilly	1,673	15	1,688
Bijnor	678	...	678
Budâun	8,301	212	8,513
Morâdâbâd	819	1	820

Distribution of the Bais Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Shâhjahânpur	1,111	173	1,284
Pilibhît	315	...	315
Cawnpur	6,323	15	6,338
Fatehpur	7,495	672	8,167
Bânda	15,857	224	16,081
Hamîrpur	14,285	24	14,309
Allahâbâd	11,882	60	11,942
Jhânsi	703	...	703
Jâlaun	1,133	21	1,154
Lalitpur	1,097	...	1,097
Benares	11,225	125	11,350
Mirzapur	5,844	...	5,844
Jaunpur	13,863	258	14,121
Ghâzipur	6,329	375	6,704
Ballia	9,334	59	9,393
Gorakhpur	12,246	1,708	13,754
Basti	5,873	9,954	15,827
Azamgarh	24,730	2,091	26,821
Tarâi	47	...	47
Lucknow	3,898	23	3,921
Unao	10,319	376	10,695
Râê Bareli	27,022	1,141	28,163
Sitapur	3,887	309	4,196
Hardoi	4,408	90	4,498
Kheri	1,073	503	1,576
Faizâbâd	18,126	1,734	19,860
Gonda	55	146	201
Bahraich	3,896	1,239	5,135

Distribution of the Bais Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Sultânpur	6,447	2,514	8,961
Partâbgarh	8,339	560	8,899
Bârabanki	12,171	1,254	13,425
Total . .	274,454	26,571	301,025

Baiswâr.—A tribe found in the hill country of Mirzapur, whose origin is doubtful. Their own account is that they are Râjputs of the famous Bais stock of Dundiya Khera,[1] and that two brothers being condemned to death by the Râja escaped into Rîwa, where the Râja gave them estates. For the last eight or nine generations they have been migrating into Mirzapur. They admit that they are now endogamous, and have no connection with Baiswâra. Their tribal worship is conducted at a temple of Bhawâni, in Bardi, the south-eastern division of Rîwa abutting on Mirzapur. It is very doubtful if they have really any Râjput blood. In appearance they are dark, and have much of the characteristic look of the Dravidian races by whom they are surrounded.

Tribal organization.

2. Besides this, their sub-divisions, some of which are totemistic, point to a non-Aryan origin. The Khandit take their name from the sword (*Khanda*), which they hold in great respect. The Bansit respect the bamboo (*bâns*), from which they say the ancestor of this sept was produced. These, they say, are the two original septs, out of which the remaining five have been derived. The Chaudharis are said to be the offspring of a connection between a Kurmi man and a Baiswâr woman. The Bannait say they are so called because they were residents in the forest. The remaining three septs—Rautiha, Sohâgpuriha, and Piparaha—are said to take their names from three villages in which they settled in Bundelkhand, Revati, Sohâgpur, and Pipara. The Khandit is the most respectable sept, and the others by the rule of hypergamy pay to get wives from them. The septs are exogamous in theory, but apparently the rule is not certain. When one daughter has been married into a family other daughters are, if possible, married

[1] See *Bais Râjput*.

into the same family, but this is not the case with sons. The tribal council (*panchâyat*) is presided over by a headman (*mahto*), who is of the Khandit sept. The offence of adultery is dealt with much less severely than that of eating with another caste. The tribal punishments are to give seven recitations of parts of the Bhâgavata, to bathe in the Ganges, or to undertake a pilgrimage to Benares, Prayâg, or Mathura. Polygamy is allowed, but monogamy is the rule. The head wife alone joins in family worship. Concubinage and polyandry are prohibited. The marriage age for boys or girls is ten or twelve. There is no purchasing of brides, but her relations have to give a dowry, and it is considered discreditable not to provide this to a suitable amount. Adultery in husband or wife, and eating or smoking with a strange caste, are grounds for divorce. A divorced woman cannot re-marry. Widow marriage in the *sagâi* form is allowed. The only ceremony is that with a recitation of the Satya Nârâyana the clothes of the pair are knotted together in the presence of the clansmen. Widow marriage outside the family is allowed only if the levir does not claim his sister-in-law under the usual restrictions. Adoption and succession are recognized under the usual local rules of Hindu law.

Domestic ceremonies, Birth and Marriage.

3. The mother after birth is attended for six days by the Chamâin midwife, and then for six days by the barber's wife. On the twelfth day the usual ceremony of purification is performed. The husband is debarred from cohabitation with his wife for six months after birth. When the child is able to walk, the ear-boring ceremony is performed, and after that the child must eat according to caste rules. Marriages are arranged by the family priest (*purohit*) and barber. When the proposal is accepted the envoys get a feast (*bhâji*) in the house of the bride. The betrothal is confirmed by the ceremony of marking (*tika*) the forehead of the bridegroom by the father or one of the male relatives of the bride. Next day her envoys (*tilakahru*) after being entertained return home. Five days before the wedding is the *matmangar*, which is performed in the usual way,[1] except that after worshipping the drum of the Chamâr, which is carried in the women's procession, by marking it with red lead, the earth is dug by the oldest woman in the family, and carried by her and placed in the marriage shed. In the centre of the shed is fixed a branch of the sacred

[1] See *Bhuiya*, para. 14.

cotton tree (*semal*), and near it the holy water vessel (*kalsa*) is placed on a mound formed of the sacred earth. The usual anointing of bride and bridegroom, which is started by the Pandit, follows. A day before the wedding is the *mantri pûja*. In a special room some lumps of cowdung are fixed on the wall, and in them some blades of the *dûb* grass, mango leaves, and a bit of yellow cloth are fastened. On these the bridegroom pours a little butter, and then the worship of the sword (*khârag*) is done. A relative of the bride holds the sword in both his hands, and the bridegroom's mother marks it with a mixture of ground rice and turmeric. Then an earthen pot full of sesamum grain is broken with the handle of the sword, and the grain scattered: an emblem, it is said, of the manner in which the enemies of the bridegroom who may dare to interfere with his marriage are to be scattered abroad. The sword is then placed in the middle of the marriage shed, an obvious survival of marriage by capture. After this a goat is sacrificed to the sword. In the evening there is a general feast known as *bhatwân*. This consists of rice and pulse, and must include cakes made of the *urad* pulse (*bara*). Before the bridegroom starts for the bride's house he is bathed by the barber, and the water thus used is collected in a vessel and taken to the bride's house, where it is mixed with that in which the bride is bathed. As the bridegroom starts his mother does the usual wave ceremony (*parachhan*) over him. At the bride's village they are met by her friends, led by the barber, who brings a yellow cloth, which he lays on the roof of the bridegroom's litter. At the bride's door the bridegroom sits in a square and worships Gauri and Ganesa, which concluded, his future father-in-law marks his forehead with curds and rice. After this, food (*kalewa*) is sent from the bride's house for the bridegroom and the boys with him, and in return his father sends five articles of jewellery for the bride, and a sheet (*sâri*) for her and her mother. With this is sent the water in which the bridegroom has been bathed. The bride is bathed in this and dressed in the sheet and jewels. The bridegroom then comes to the marriage shed, where his father-in-law washes his feet, and seats him in the square (*chauk*) on his left hand, while the bride sits on her father's right hand. The pair then worship the household gods, of whom images are made in dough, and both mark the water jar and the branch of the cotton tree with red lead. Their clothes are knotted together, and

they do the usual five revolutions round the cotton tree, while the bridegroom holds a winnowing fan (*sûp*) into which the bride's brother pours a little parched rice each time as they go round. The bride sprinkles this grain on the ground out of the fan, and both retire into the retiring room (*kohabar*), the walls of which are decorated. There his mother-in-law takes off the bridegroom's crown (*maur*) and gives him a present. Next day follows the *confarreatio* ceremony (*khichari*), which is done in the usual way. Next day the bridegroom takes home his bride, but before he starts his father goes and shakes down one of the poles of the marriage shed, for which he gets a present (*mâuro khilâi*). On the fourth day after they return the ceremony ends by the barber's wife taking the sacred jar (*kalsa*) and the festoons (*bandanwâr*) of the marriage shed, and throwing them into a neighbouring stream. On their return husband and wife offer a burnt sacrifice (*homa*) to the local gods (*dih*).

Death.

4. The dead are cremated in the standard Hindu form. After the cremation all the mourners touch fire with the eight parts of their bodies, and sit for an hour in silence with the chief mourner. Next morning the chief mourner goes to the pyre, collects the ashes, and throws them into an adjoining stream. They set up an earthen vessel on a pîpal tree through which water drops for the refreshment of the thirsty spirit. While in the state of impurity, the chief mourner is armed with a stick, pointed with iron, to enable him to keep off ghosts. Every day he lays out food for the ghost along the road to the cremation ground. On the tenth day he offers lumps of rice and milk, which he throws into a tank, and all the mourners shave. On the eleventh day the Mahâpâtra receives all the personal effects of the dead man, which he is supposed to pass on to the deceased in the land of the dead. On the twelfth day the chief mourner offers sixteen balls (*pinda*) to ancestors, and returning, feasts the Mahâpâtra and gives him a cow and a loin cloth. On the thirteenth day Brâhmans are fed. During the fortnight (*pitri-paksha*), sacred to the manes, in the month of Kuâr, the ground under the eaves of the house is plastered, and some water and a tooth brush stick is left out; and flowers and rice are scattered about for the use of the dead visitors. On the fifteenth day of Kuâr Brâhmans are feasted.

Religion.

5. They principally worship Devi through Brâhmans. The local gods (*dih*) they worship through the Baiga with sacrifices of pigs and goats.

6. Their superstitions are similar to those of the surrounding castes. They swear by touching their sons' heads, the feet of a Brâhman, the tail of a cow, or by standing in running water. They believe in the Evil-eye, which is obviated by an Ojha blowing on some dust, and sprinkling it over the person attacked, and repeating appropriate spells (*mantra*).

Superstitions.

7. Very few drink liquor: none eat beef or pork. They will not touch the wife of a younger brother or the wife of an elder brother-in-law. They will not eat the flesh of the lizard, alligator, snake, jackal, or rat. The women eat separate from the men.

Taboos.

8. They rank as respectable high caste Hindus. They are either landholders or tenants with occupancy rights. They dress and wear ornaments like ordinary Râjputs, and among the low tribes around them their claim to that rank is generally accepted.

Status.

Bâjgi.[1]—A tribe of musicians found in the lower ranges of the Hills. They are possibly akin to the Nats. The name of the tribe is derived from Hindi *bajâna*, "to play a musical instrument." In Dehra Dûn they consider themselves indigenous to the district.

2. They have several exogamous *gotras*, and are not allowed to marry in their own *gotra*, or in the family of the maternal uncle, until at least two generations have passed since the last connection by marriage. A man may have as many wives as he can support. Widows of the tribe may be married in the *karâo* form. Marriages take place when the parties attain the age of puberty. The parents and guardians of the boy have to pay a bride price which varies from forty to fifty rupees, and the price rises according to the youth and beauty of the bride. If a marriage is annulled after consummation, and she marries another man she has to repay the bride price, or as much of it as the tribal council award as compensation to the first husband. Children by a *karâo* marriage rank equally for inheritance with the offspring of a regular marriage. It has been asserted that the rule of the levirate is so far relaxed that the widow can be claimed by the elder as well as by the younger brother

Marriage rules.

[1] This account is based on a set of notes prepared by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Dehra Dûn.

of her late husband; but this assertion is in such direct opposition to the practice current among allied tribes that it is probably incorrect.

Birth.

3. There are no ceremonies during pregnancy. The women act as midwives to their own people as well as to other castes; and they have no custom of adoption, initiation, or betrothal.

Marriage.

4. The marriage ceremonies are of the most simple type. The boy's father pays the bride price, and forthwith takes the girl home; and the marriage is recognised when a few of the clansmen have been fed.

Death.

5. Persons who die of cholera, small-pox, or snake-bite, are buried, because they are supposed to be under the direct influence of the deities who rule these diseases, and no purification by fire is necessary. Persons who die a natural death in other ways are cremated. They do not use a regular pyre, but make a thatch of bamboos, and under it light some wood; when the fire is well alight they put on it the body, covered with a white cloth, and let it burn. They have no special cremation places, but consume the corpse wherever it is most convenient, and pay no regard to the ashes, which are left on the site of the cremation.

Impurity.

6. Women remain impure after childbirth for seven days, and the person who sets fire to the pyre for three days. As long as a woman has not given birth to a child she is considered impure during her menses; but once she is a mother her menstruation is disregarded, and she is not kept apart or prevented from doing her ordinary house work.

Religion.

7. Bâjgis consider themselves to be Hindus. They chiefly reverence Devi, and her worship is carried on by a tribal subscription with which goats, rams, and spirits are bought and used in sacrifice. A little of the blood and spirits is poured upon the ground, and the rest is consumed by the worshippers. They have no priests or temples, but each household has a shelf, on which is placed a trident (*trisûl*) with an iron lamp and an earthenware vessel containing some beads, which represent the goddess. These articles serve as a representation of Nâga Râja, the serpent godling, who is regarded as their tribal deity, Nâga Râja is a

most powerful godling, and, unless he is propitiated, brings misfortune, disease, and death. The special offering to Nâga Râja and Devi is a goat, while Nar Sinh Deo is worshipped with the sacrifice of fowl. Any adult member of the tribe may make these offerings.

Festivals.

8. They have only two festivals, the Naurâtra and the Basant Panchami. Some of them regard Makar-ki-Sankrânt, or the passage of the sun into the sign of Capricornus, a holiday. On these days they eat meat and drink spirits. Of ancestor worship they know little; but they are, like similar races, in great dread of the spirits of the departed, and do not care to say much about them. Like the Doms of Dehra Dûn, they keep in their houses, as a sort of household guardian, some rude wooden images representing the five Pândavas—Yudhishthira, Bhîma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahdeva. They know little of omens.

Oaths.

9. Their chief oath is on the cow; in less serious cases they swear on the bamboo. The violation of an oath is believed to cause the death of the eldest son of the perjurer.

Demonology.

10. They have the usual beliefs characteristic of races in the same phase of culture regarding dreams, the Evil-eye, and demoniacal possession, leading to disease and death.

Social rules.

11. They will not eat beef; but as to any other kind of food they have no scruples. Men and women eat apart. They will eat *pakki* and *kachchi* from any one but a Dom or a Chamâr. No other caste will eat or drink from their hands.

Occupation.

Their occupation is singing and dancing, and their women, as has been said already, act as midwives.

Bâlâhar, Bulâhar.—[1] A tribe found in parts of the Duâb and Bundelkhand. The name seems to mean "crier" or "summoner" (Hindi, *bulâna*, "to call"). In Cawnpur they are also known as Domar or Basor, which connect them with Doms and Bânsphors and Toraiha, because part of their business is to blow the long trumpet or "cholera horn" (*turi, turai, turhi*) at weddings. In Cawnpur they have four exogamous septs—Suyador,

[1] Mainly from notes from Pandit Baldeo Prasâd, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur.

Laungbasa, Kudkaha, and Banha—of the meaning of which they can give no explanation.

The Census returns record 85 sections. Many of these are taken from well-known tribes, such as Baghel, Bais, Bâhman Gaur, Chamar Gaur, Khatîk; others are of local origin, like Abâdpura, Baksariya, Indauriya, Purabiya. Curiously enough they do not seem to have retained the distinctively totemistic sections of the Doms, Bânsphors, and Basors.

Marriage rules.

2. Besides the rule that a man cannot marry within his sept he cannot marry in a family which is known to be descended from the same parents as his own, or which can be traced to a common ancestor. He cannot marry in the family of his maternal uncle or of his father's sister. He cannot marry two sisters at the same time, but he can marry the younger sister of his deceased wife.

Traditions.

3. Their traditions show clearly that they are a branch of the great Dom tribe, and they refer their origin to Sûpa Bhagat, who, in Bengal, is regarded more as the Guru than the progenitor of the Doms.

Marriage.

4. Marriage is both infant and adult. Sexual license before marriage is neither recognised nor tolerated. Polyandry is repudiated; polygamy without any condition or limit is allowed. They marry by the ordinary low caste form. Widows are married by the form known as *Dola* or *Dharauna*. The levirate, on the usual conditions, is recognised; but it is not compulsory on the widow to marry the younger brother of her late husband. At the *Dola* marriage the binding part of the ceremony is the feast to the brethren. A woman can be turned out of the house for infidelity, and this is the only form of divorce. A divorced woman can marry again like a widow.

Religion.

5. They are not initiated into any sect, but are commonly classed as Sâktas. Their tribal godling is Jakhaiya, to whom pigs are offered on a Monday. On Monday and Friday goats are sacrificed to Devi. There appears to be no worship special to women and children.

Death ceremonies.

6. Some of them bury and some burn the dead. The corpse is buried with the feet to the south. When cremation is performed the ashes are thrown

into some river. They have no particular ceremony to appease the spirits of the dead. Some of them do the ordinary *srâddha*.

Occupation.

7. Their occupation is to act as village messengers (*gorait*). They blow the long trumpet at marriages and festivals. Some make bamboo baskets; some are pure village menials, and work in consideration of receiving a small patch of rent-free land.

Social rules.

8. They eat meat and drink spirits. They practically eat anything, even the leavings of other people. They will eat *kachchi* only with their own castes; they take *pakki* from sweepers. No other caste will touch anything from their hands.

Distribution of Baldhars according to the Census of 1891.

Mathura	509
Cawnpur	1,428
Hamírpur	105
Jâlaun	317
TOTAL	2,359

Balâi, Balâhi[1].—A tribe of weavers and labourers in the Central Duâb. They have no exogamous or endogamous divisions. They marry only in their own caste, but not in the *gotra* of their mother or grandmother. They can marry two sisters. There is no prohibition of marriage based on social position, occupation, or sectarial belief. They say themselves that they are the descendants of Panwâr Râjputs, and that their original home is Kota Bûndi and Bikâner. They are settled and not nomadic. They do not admit outsiders into the caste. Marriage is both infant and adult, and sexual license both before and after marriage is not tolerated. Polyandry is prohibited, and polygamy to the extent of two wives is allowed.

Marriage.

2. The marriage is celebrated in the usual way, and the binding part of it is the seven perambulations (*bhanwar*) round the sacred fire. A Brâhman priest officiates. Marriage under the form known as *Dharaicha* is also permitted. This is the form used in widow marriage. The widow can, if she please, live with the younger brother of her late husband; but she can, if she chooses, marry an outsider to the family, and her right of choice is fully recognized. A woman can be expelled

[1] Prepared from notes by Munshi Atma Rám, Head Master, High School, Mathura.

for infidelity, and she has the right of appeal to the tribal council. Such a divorced woman can marry again by the *Dharaicha* form.

Religion.

3. They are Hindus of the Vaishnava sect, and their chief god is Bhagwân. They worship Hanumân every Tuesday and Saturday, and Devi in the months of Chait and Kuâr. Zâhir Pîr is venerated on the ninth of the first half of Bhâdon. The offerings consist of flowers, sweetmeats, fruits, etc., and after presentation they are consumed by the worshippers. They employ Brâhmans as priests who do not incur any social discredit by serving them.

Disposal of the dead.

4. The dead are cremated. Poor people leave the ashes at the pyre; wealthier people send them to the Ganges. They perform the usual annual *srâddha* in the month of Kuâr.

Occupation.

5. Weaving is their main occupation, but some of them work as masons and day-labourers.

Social rules.

6. They eat pork and flesh of cloven-footed animals, except the cow. They drink spirits. They will not eat the flesh of monkeys, fish, fowls, crocodiles, lizards, snakes, rats or other vermin, or the leavings of other people. The lowest well known caste with which the caste will eat *pakki* is the Nâi. They eat *kachchi* cooked by Kâyasths, Gûjars or Ahîrs.

Bâm-Margi.—(Sans. *Vâma-mârgi*, "the left hand path").—The notorious left hand or Sâkti sect, which presents one of the most degraded forms of modern Hinduism. On these Sir Monier Williams [1] writes:—"It can scarcely be doubted that Sâktism is Hinduism arrived at its worst and most corrupt stage of development. To follow out the whole process of evolution would not be easy. Suffice it to say that just as Hinduism resolved itself into two great systems, Saivism and Vaishnavism, so the adherents of these two systems respectively separated into two great classes. The first are now called "followers of the right hand path" (*Dakshina-mârgis*). These make the Purânas their real Veda (*Nigama*), and are devoted to either Siva or Vishnu in their double nature as male and female. But they do not display undue preference for the female or left-hand side of the deity; nor are they addicted to mystic or secret rites. The second class are called "followers

[1] *Brahmanism and Hinduism, 185.*

of the left-hand path" (*Vâma-margis*). These make the Tantras their peculiar Veda (Agama), tracing back their doctrines to the Kaula Upanishad, which is held to be the original authority for their opinions, whence their system is called Kaula as well as Sâkta, and they call themselves Kaulikas.

2. "And it is these left-hand worshippers who, I repeat, devote themselves to the exclusive worship of the female side of Siva and Vishnu; that is the goddess Durga or Kâli (Amba Devi) rather than to Siva; to Râdha rather than to Krishna; to Sîta rather than to Râma; but above all to Amba or Devi, the mother goddess, sometimes confounded with Siva's consort, but rather, in her more comprehensive character, the great power (*Sakti*) of Nature, the one mother of the Universe (*Jagannâta*, *Jagadamba*) the mighty mysterious force, whose function is to direct and control two quite distinct operations; namely, first, the working of the natural appetites and passions, whether for the support of the body by eating and drinking, or for the propagation of living organisms through sexual cohabitation; secondly, the acquisition of supernatural faculties (*Siddhi*), whether for man's own individual exaltation or for the annihilation of his opponents."

The sect devotes itself to what are technically known as the five Ms. which are named in the verse,—

Madyam mânsam cha minam cha mudrâ maithun meva cha;
Êtê pânch makârasyur mokshadâ hi yuge yuge.

"Wine, fish, flesh, enjoyment and cohabitation—these are the givers of salvation in every age." For each of these there is a slang or technical term. Thus wine is *tîrtha* or "pilgrimage;" flesh, *sudhi* or "pure;" fish, *pushpa* or "flowers;" *mudrs* is *chaturthi* or "fourth;" and cohabitation, *panchami* or "fifth." Their principal form of worship is known as Bhairavi chakra or "the wheel of Bhairava;" and they assert that whoever takes part in it becomes for the time a Brâhman. A jug of spirits is placed within the figure of a triangle or quadrangle, and worshipped with the *mantra*, *Brahm shapam bimocha tha*—"O wine! thou art free from the curse of Brahma." Again the secret form of the ritual consists in the worship of a naked woman, and similarly, a naked man is worshipped by the women. A vessel is filled with water and a large dish with meat, and the leader, the wine cup in his hand, says, *Bhairavoham Sivoham*, "I am Bhairava and Siva." He drinks first, and all the congregation does the same. A man and woman stand

naked with swords in their hands, and are worshipped. The pair are supposed to represent Devi and Mahâdeva. Then follows indiscriminate license, and the subsequent ritual takes even more disgusting forms. To free themselves from the risk of subsequent transmigration, they perform a particular charm (*prayoga*), which consists in placing bottles of liquor at separate places in the house and drinking till intoxication results. The *mantra* of initiation is said to be *Dam Durge namah*, or *Bham Bhairavâya namah*, "I salute Durga. I salute Bhairava." In Bengal they also use the mystic formula *Hrim, Srim, Klim*. Another of their mystic formulas is *Hram, hrim, hrum, bagala mukhai phat swâha*, or *Hum phat swâha*. The charm to kill an enemy is to make an image of flour or earth and stick razors into the breast, navel and throat, with pegs in the eyes, hands and feet. Then they make an image of Bhairava or Durga, holding a three-pronged fork (*trisûl*) in the hand, and place it so close to the image of the person to whom evil is intended that the fork pierces its breast. A fire sacrifice is made with meat and a charm recited, which runs—"Kill, kill; estrange, and make him hated of all; make him subservient to my will; devour him, consume him, break him, destroy him; make my enemies obey me." At one time they were supposed to make human sacrifices to Kâli, and the records of our Criminal Courts show that such practices have not entirely ceased. In this they are closely connected with the Aghoris, who eat human flesh. One division of them the Choli-mârgi, make the women place their boddices (*choli*) in a jar, and thus allot them by chance to the male worshippers. Of another, the Bîjmârgi, the bestiality of the ritual defies description.

3. There seems, unhappily, reason to believe that this brutal form of so-called worship is spreading in Upper India under the example of Bengali immigrants, who have introduced it from its head-quarters in Bengal. At the last census, 1,576 persons avowed themselves worshippers of the left-hand path.

Banâphar.—A famous sept of Yadubansi Râjputs confined almost entirely to the Bundelkhand country now included in the Allahâbâd and Benares Divisions. According to their own account they derive their name from their ancestor, a certain Rishi who used to live on the wild fruits of the jungle (*vanaphala*). Their original settlement is said to have been Orai and Chausa, in the Jâlaun District. The story of their emigration to Mahoba is thus told:—Two men of the tribe once went into the forest to hunt; their

names were Jasar and Sorhar. They came upon two buffalos fighting, and as they watched the combat two Ahîr girls came up, and by main force separated the furious animals. The Thâkurs were so pleased with the bravery and strength of the girls that they took them to wife. Their sons were the famous Alha and Udal, whose adventures form the subject of the great Bundelkhand epic. They are the heroes of the famous war between the Chandels and Chauhâns. In the course of this campaign the Chauhân chieftain, Prithivi Râja, conquered the King of Mahoba, Paramarddi Deva, or Parmal, as he is familiarly called by the bard Chand, and the later annalists at a battle at Sirswagarh, on the Pahoj, or at Bairagarh near Orai.[1] The names of the Ahîr girls, their mothers, are said to have been Devala and Brahma. When the Râja found that his men had contracted a low marriage with Ahîrins they were turned out of caste, and took service with Parmal of Mahoba.[2] At that time Mahoba was besieged by the hosts of the Râja of Jambudwîpa, one of the seven islands or continents of which the world is made up, having Mount Meru for its centre and including Bharata-varsha or India. The Banâphar heroes drove back the enemy, and were rewarded by the gift of an estate known as the Daspurwa, or ten hamlets. Subsequently two other Banâphar soldiers of fortune, Râma Sinh and Dhana Sinh, came to Benares from Chausa and took service with Bandâl, the Râja of Benares. They rose in his favour, and by and by proposed to him to attack and expel the Bhar Râja of Kantit, in the Mirzapur District. For this purpose they invited some of their relations and made them take service with the Bhar Râja. According to the stock legend which explains the conquest of the Aborigines by the Aryan invaders, they drugged the liquor of the Bhars and overcame them while sunk in drunken sleep. Thus Râja Bandâl acquired the territories of the Bhars. Bandâl conferred on the Banâphar warriors the villages of Râjpur and Hariharpur. Dânu Sinh succeeded Bandâl, and held Dhana Sinh in high favour. One day the Râja was at his devotions and a kite dropped a morsel of flesh on him, whereupon Dhana Sinh killed it with his arrow. This so pleased the Râja that he conferred more estates upon him. These have been gradually lost until the

[1] For this campaign see Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, II., 455, *Gazetteer*, N. W. P., I., 160.

[2] The connection between the Banâphars and Ahirs is one of many instances which illustrate the mixed origin of many of the Râjput septs.

sept now hold a very inconsiderable landed property in the Benares Division.

2. The Banâphars hold only a moderately respectable rank among Râjputs. In Jâlaun they will, it is said, take brides by the *dola* form from all the poor Râjputs of the District, and receive the bride price. They marry their sons to the girls of the Bais, Gautam, Dikhit, and Bisen septs. In Hamîrpur they profess to belong to the Kasyapa *gotra*, and give brides to the Gautam, Dikhit Bais, and Chandel, while they take wives from the Nandwâni, Bâhman Gaur, and Bais. In Bânda they give brides to the Dikhit, Gautam, Gaur, and Kachhwâha; and take girls of the Panwâr Bais, Dikhit, and Sombansi septs.

Distribution of the Banâphar Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Mathura . .	8	Jâlaun . . .	722
Farrukhâbâd . .	3	Lalitpur . . .	59
Mainpuri . . .	15	Benares . . .	1,447
Etah	1	Mirzapur . . .	191
Shâhjahânpur . .	36	Ghâzipur . . .	629
Pilibhît . . .	8	Ballia	473
Cawnpur . .	123	Azamgarh . . .	35
Bânda . . .	510	Lucknow . . .	1
Hamîrpur . . .	828	Bâré Bareli . . .	2
Allahâbâd . . .	340		
Jhânsi	34	Total .	5,465

Banarwâr, Bandarwâr.—A sub-caste of Banyas found principally in the Benares Division. They have thirty-six sections, which are thus given in Mirzapur—Mâlhan, Sothiyân, Sanbhariya, Abakahon, Rupiya, Katariya, Patsariya, Thagwariya, Manihariya, Narihiya, Nakthariya, Khatwatiya, Khelaniya, Burbak, Manipariya, Jhatwatiya, Purwar, Deriya, Puriya, Kalyâniya, Dhângar, Sonmukhiya, Chaudhariya, Sethiyân, Bairah, Naiphiriya, Katholiya, Beriya,

Kakariya, Badana, Kasauliya, Lohkhariya, Panchlatiya, Dhenk, Bajâj, Motariya, and lastly those who have no knowledge of their *gotra* call themselves Akâsh Bhânwari. These sections marry indiscriminately. They are often initiated into the Râmanandi sect of Vaishnavas. To the East they worship, as a sort of fetish (apparently from some fancied connection of name), the *bandi* or chain worn by women on the forehead. To this on the day of the Nâgpanchami they offer prayers, cakes (*púri*), usually one hundred and eight in number, and garlands of flowers. They worship Mahâbîr and the Pânchonpîr in the usual way. Their priests are Tiwâri Brâhmans who are said to serve the royal family of Rîwa. They make their living as brokers, and by selling brass vessels, cloth, money-changing and similar mercantile business. Those who live towards the North eat meat, but the others do not. Drinking is prohibited. They eat *pakki* cooked by Brâhmans Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. They will eat *kachchi* cooked only by members of their own sub-caste. Some Brâhmans, and Kshatriyas will eat *pakki* cooked by them. Kahârs and Nâis will eat *kachchi* cooked by them.

√ **Bandhalgoti; Bandhugoti; Bandhilgoti; Banjhilgoti.**—A sept of Râjputs found principally in Sultânpur, of whose origin there are at least three different accounts. *First.*—Their own tribal legend, according to which they are "Sûrajbansi by origin and belong to the particular branch of the clan now represented by the Râja of Jaypur. About nine hundred years ago Sûda Râê, a scion of that illustrious house, leaving his home in Narwargarh, set out on a pilgrimage to the holy city of Ajudhya. His route lay across the Amethi Pargana, in the Sultânpur District, where, near the present village of Râêpur, half overgrown with tangled weeds and briars, a shrine of Devi suddenly presented itself to his view. The Bhars then held sway and few vestiges remained anywhere of Hindu places of worship; so the pious pilgrim resolved to tarry a while near the one accident had brought him to. Having performed his devotions, he lay down to rest, and in his slumbers saw a vision of the goddess of the fane, who disclosed to him the lofty destiny ordained for him and his descendants; they were to become hereditary lords of the territory in which he was then a temporary sojourner. Prepared to further to his utmost the fulfilment of so interesting a prophecy, he determined henceforth to abide in his future domains, and relinquishing his uncompleted pilgrimage, entered into the service of the

Bhar chieftain. His innate worth soon manifested itself in many ways, and secured his elevation to the post of minister. His Bhar master now designed, as a crowning mark of favour, to bestow upon him his daughter in marriage; but a Sûrajbans, though he might condescend to serve a barbarian, might not sully his lineage by a mésalliance, and Sûda Râê contemptuously refused the proferred honour. The Bhar chief, in offended pride, at once deprived him of his office and he returned to Narwargarh. But his mind was ever occupied with thoughts of the promised land; he collected a picked body of followers and marched against Amethi. The Bhars were defeated with great slaughter, and the Sûrajbans occupied their territory. Sûda Râê established a fort on the spot where he had seen the prophetic vision, and included therein the ruined shrine in grateful commemoration of the divine interposition of his fortunes which occurred there. After the lapse of a few generations, the line of Sûda Râê threatened to become extinct, for the sixth in descent remained childless in his old age. In the village of Kurmu, however, resided Kanak Muni, one of those saints of irresistible piety. To him Mândhâta Sinh poured out his tale of woe; and not in vain; for, by the prayers of the saint, a son was born to him, and was at first called Sutsâh; but when he was taken to be presented to the saint he was called Bandhu, or "who is bound," and his descendants called themselves Bandhugoti, or popularly Bandhalgoti."[1]

2. According to Mr. Carnegy,[2] however, they spring from a Brâhman, Chuchu Pânrê, and a Dharkârin or Dom woman, and their name is connected with that of the Bânsphor Doms. They worship as their tribal fetish the knife (*bâṅka*) with which Doms split the bamboo, and this they now call a poniard, the symbol of Narwar.

3. Thirdly, Sir H. M. Elliot[3] describes them as a branch of the Chauhâns.

4. On the general question of their origin Mr. Millet writes[4]:— "With regard to the theory which makes their Kshatriya status of local development, the Bandhalgotis freely admit that one of their number was enlisted on the side of the Râja of Hasanpur in his

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[1] *Sultânpur Settlement Report*, 154, *sqq.*
[2] *Notes*, 40.
[3] *Supplemental Glossary*, *sv.*
[4] *Loc. cit*, 171, *sq.*

dispute with the Baghels, and that in return for services then rendered a tract of land was made over to him by the Râja. Again, while they describe their former home to have been at Narwargarh, the town of Hasanpur was, until the time of Hasan Khân, that is just till the synchronism in the annals of the Bandhalgoti and the Bachgoti, known as Narwal. And further, whereas the Bandhalgoti derive their name from Bandhu, there is contiguous to Hasanpur a village named Bandhu, and a slight eminence on the border of a tank between the two is still pointed out as the residence of the Bandhalgoti servant of the Râja. The story of the Dharkârin alliance may seem to find some support in one form of the clan appellation; for Banjhilgoti is a very possible corruption of Bânschhilgoti (*bâns*, "a bamboo," *chhîlna*, "to pare"), and although the exact word *banschhil* does not exist, a very similar one, Bânsphor, shows that the bamboo-splitting industry furnishes the basis of a caste distinction. The reverse of the picture is not, however, quite blank. Whatever the source of the Bandhalgoti traditions, it is curious that in claiming kinship with the Jaypur family they should hit on, as the home of their ancestors, the very place it occupied before its removal to Jaypur; and the strangeness of the coincidence is enhanced by the fact that Sûda Râê's pilgrimage agrees in date with the Kachhwâha migration." The question of their origin must then remain to some extent doubtful.

5. In Sultânpur they are reported to take brides from the Bilkhariya, Tashaiya, Chandauriya, Kath Bais, Bhâlê Sultân, Raghubansi, Gargbansi, Rajkumâr, and Bachgoti; and to give girls to the Tilokchandi Bais, Mainpuri Chauhâns, Mahûl Sûrajbansis, Nagar Gautams, and Bisens of Majhauli; and that their *gotra* is Bandhal. In Gonda, it is said that their *gotra* is Vatsya, and that they give girls to the Panwâr, Bisen, Sirnet, Raikwâr, Bhadauriya, Bais, Kalhans and Chauhân; and take brides from the Sûrajbans, Bachgoti, Barwâr, Gaharwâr, and other high caste Râjputs.

Distribution of the Bandhalgoti Rájputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Agra	9	Sîtapur . . .	35
Fatehpur . . .	115	Kheri	11
Lalitpur . . .	6	Faizâbâd . . .	495
Benares . . .	27	Gonda . . .	407
Gorakhpur . . .	48	Sultânpur . . .	9,831
Basti	257	Partâbgarh . . .	3
Azamgarh . . .	4	Bârabanki . . .	42
Lucknow . . .	17		
Râê Bareli . . .	129	Total .	11,436

Bândi.—A small tribe living as drummers and bird-catchers in the Himalayan Tarâi. Their chief business is catching birds for sale. They also make a living by catching birds and bringing them into cities where pious people, such as Jain Banyas, pay them to release a bird as an act of piety or as a charm to take away disease from a sick person. In their habits and occupation they resemble the Baheliya.

The Census returns record four sections,—Gaur, Mathuriya, Odrain and Serain.

Distribution of the Bándi according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Bareilly	105
Morâdâbâd	5
Total .	110

Bangâli, Bengâli.—A resident of Bengal, Vanga or Bang Desa. It is not quite clear whether some of these recorded in the census lists are not the familiar Bengâli Bâbu who has not been entered in his regular caste, Brâhman, Kâyasth, etc. At any rate there is a recognised tribe of vagrants known as Bengâli, Nau-muslim Bengâli or Singiwâla, the last because they use a kind of horn in cupping.

2. From reports from the District Superintendents of Police at Sahâranpur, Meerut, and Aligarh, it appears that these people wander all over the Upper Duâb and the Panjab and Native States They disclaim any direct connection with Nats, Kanjars, and similar vagrants; but they are obviously closely related. Among the Hindu branch there appear to be at least three exogamous sections, Negiwâla, Teli, and Jogeli. The Census returns show 54 sections of the Hindu and four of the Muhammadan branch, but it is impossible to say how many of these belong to the vagrant Bengâlis. The Hindu branch call themselves the descendants of one Siwâi Râm, Râjput, who was a Bengâli and elephant driver, and in the time of Aurangzeb learnt the art of bleeding and cupping from a native physician or Hakîm, and taught it to his descendants. The Muhammadan branch usually call themselves Lodi Pathâns from Bengal. They do not admit outsiders to their caste; marry in the usual form, if Muhammadans, through the Qâzi, but as might have been expected their religious practices are vague. The Muhamadans are said never to be circumcised, and they as well as the Hindus worship Devi and Zâhir Pîr.

3. From Meerut it is reported the Hindu branch will eat meat of all kinds, the flesh of cloven or uncloven footed animals, fowls, all kinds of fish and crocodiles, and the leavings of other people. Though this is not quite certain, it would appear that the Muhammadan branch generally abstain from pork.

4. The Bengâli is a loafer and vagabond, prone to commit petty theft, a beggar, and a rustic surgeon as far as bleeding and cupping go. In their manner of life they much resemble the Mâl and Bediya of Bengal, and, if there is anything in the name, they are possibly akin to their tribes.

Distribution of Bengâlis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Musalmâns.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	16	16
Sahâranpur	65	160	225
Bulandshahr	235	1	236
Aligarh	1	...	1

Distribution of Bengâlis according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Hindus.	Musalmâns.	Total.
Mathura	64	...	64
Agra	40	...	40
Farrukhâbâd	5	...	5
Mainpuri	2	...	2
Bareilly	25	...	25
Budâun	...	25	25
Cawnpur	31	4	35
Fatehpur	16	...	16
Bânda	4	...	4
Allahâbâd	65	4	69
Jhânsi	8	...	8
Benares	219	...	219
Mirzapur	12	...	12
Ghâzipur	28	...	28
Gorakhpur	41	...	41
Kumâun	15	...	15
Lucknow	61	30	91
Rûhelkhand Bareli	75	17	92
Faizâbâd	5	...	5
Gonda	...	16	16
Sultânpur	2	...	2
Partâbgarh	51	7	58
Total .	1,070	280	1,350

Bangâli, Bengâli.—One of the great divisions of Brâhmans recorded as such at the last census. According to Mr. Risley, who has given an elaborate account of them,[1] the Bengal Brâhmans

[1] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 144, *sqq.*

belong to one or other of the Gaur groups, and are divided into five main sub-castes,—Rârhi, Barendra, Vaidik, Saptasati and Madhyasrani. As already stated, it is impossible to say how many of the 58 sections recorded in the census refer to the Brâhman branch, and how many to the tribe of vagrants of the same name.

The Rârhi Brâhmans.

2. "The Rârhi Brahmans derive their name from the Rârh, or the high-lying alluvial tract on the west bank of the river Bhagîrathi. Their claim to be of comparatively pure Aryan descent is to some extent borne out by the results of anthropometric enquiries. The current tradition is that early in the eleventh century A. D. Adisura or Adisvara, King of Bengal, finding the Brâhmans, then settled in Bengal, too ignorant to perform for him certain Vedic ceremonies, applied to the Râja of Kanauj for priests thoroughly conversant with the sacred ritual of the Aryans. In answer to this request five Brâhmans of Kanauj were sent to him, Bhatta Nârâyana, of the Sândilya section, or *gotra;* Daksha, of the Kasyapa *gotra;* Vedagarbha or Vidagarbha, of the Vatsa *gotra,* or, as others say, from the family of Bhrigu; Chandra or Chhandara, of the Savarna *gotra;* and Sri Harsa of the Bhâradvâja *gotra.* They brought with them their wives, their sacred fire and their sacrificial implements. It is said that Adisura was at first disposed to treat them with scanty respect, but he was soon compelled to acknowledge his mistake, and to beg the Brâhmans to forgive him. He then made over to them five populous villages, where they lived for a year. Meanwhile the king was so impressed with the superhuman virtue of Bhatta Nârâyana, who was a son of Kshitisa, King of Kanauj, that he offered him several more villages. The Brâhman, however, declined to take these as a gift, but bought them, as the story goes, at a low price.

3. "Although the immigrant Brâhmans brought their wives with them, tradition says that they contracted second marriages with the women of Bengal, and that their children by the latter were the ancestors of the Barendra Brâhmans. The Barendra, on the other hand, claim to represent the offspring from the original Hindustâni wives, and allege that the Rârhi Brâhmans are themselves sprung from the mesalliance contracted in Bengal.

4. "By the middle of the eleventh century, when Ballâl Sen, the second of the Sen Kings of Bengal, instituted his famous enquiry into the personal endowments of the Rârhi Brâhmans, their numbers

seem to have increased greatly. They are represented as divided into fifty-six headships of villages (*gâin*), which were reserved for them, and might not be encroached on by Brâhmans of other orders.

5. "It is interesting to trace in Ballâl Sen's enquiry the survival or reassertion of the principle that the Brâhmanhood of the Brâhmans depends not merely on birth but upon personal endowments. It is a question of virtue, not a question of descent. Ballâl Sen, of course, could not go as far as this. The time had long passed when a Kshatriya could transform himself into a Brâhman by penance and self-denial. But the Sen Monarch sought to reaffirm the ancient principle, so far as was then possible, by testing the qualifications of each Rârhi family for the priestly office, and classifying them, in the order of their virtue, according to the results of this examination. Thus two grades of sacerdotal virtue were formed, the Kulin being those who had observed the entire nine counsels of perfection, and the Srotiya, who, though regular students of the Vedas, had lost status by intermarrying with families of inferior birth. The Srotiya were again divided into Siddha or 'perfect,' Sâdhya or 'capable of attaining purity,' and Kashta or 'difficult.' The last-named group was also called Ari or 'enemy,' because a Kulin marrying a daughter of that group was disgraced."

The Barendra Brâhmans.

6. As above stated, there is a difference of opinion as to their origin. "The sub-caste takes its name from the tract of country known as Barendra, lying north of the river Padma and corresponding roughly to the Districts of Pabna, Râjshâhi, and Bogra. Of these there are three hypergamous classes—Kulin, Suddha or 'pure,' Srotiya and Kashta, or bad Srotiya." Of their rules of intermarriage Mr. Risley gives full details.

The Vaidik Brâhmans.

7. "Concerning the origin of the Vaidik Brâhmans some differences of opinion exist. All agree in honouring them for their adherence to Vedic rites, their zeal for Vedic study, their social independence, and their rejection of polygamy. From the fact that some of the most important settlements of the sub-caste are formed in the outlying districts of Orissa and Sylhet, some authorities are led to describe them as descendants of the original Brâhmans of Bengal, who refused to accept the reforms of Ballâl Sen, and took refuge in regions beyond his jurisdiction. The theory that they came from Kanauj derives support

from Mr. Sherring's statement that the Kanaujiya Brâhmans of Benares recognise the Vaidik as a branch of their own tribe, who settled in Bengal. There are two main divisions of Vaidik Brahmans,—Paschâtya or 'Western,' claiming to have come from Kanauj, and Dakshinatya or 'Southern,' tracing their origin to the original Bengal stock."

The Saptasati Brâhmans.

8. "According to popular tradition, the Saptasati Brâhmans are descended from the seven hundred ignorant Brâhmans sent by Adisur to the Court of Kanauj for the purpose of learning their priestly duties. Others trace their origin to certain Brâhmans who were exiled beyond the Brahmaputra river for resisting the innovations of Ballâl Sen. It seems to be certain that they are peculiar to Bengal, and that they cannot claim connection with any of the ten standard Brâhmanical tribes. They virtually admit their inferiority to the other orders of Brâhmans. Men of education and respectability are reluctant to admit that they belong to this sub-caste, all distinctive practices are being abandoned, and the entire group seems likely to be absorbed in the Srotiya grade of Rârhi Brâhmans."

The Madhyasreni Brâhmans.

9. The Madhyasreni Brâhmans profess to derive their name from the fact of their original settlement being in the District of Midnapur, lying midway (Madhyadesa) between Bengal and Orissa. It is conjectured that they may be a composite group made up of members of the Rârhi, Utkal, and Saptasati sub-castes, who for some reason broke off from their own classes, settled in an outlying district, and in course of time formed a new sub-caste.

10. Further elaborate details of the Bengal Brâhmans will be found in Mr. Risley's excellent account of them.

Distribution of Bangâli Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

District	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	13	Agra	106
Muzaffarnagar . .	3	Farrukhâbâd . .	11
Bulandshahr . . .	30	Etâwah . . .	27
Aligarh . . .	8	Etah	3
Mathura . . .	505	Morâdâbâd . . .	26

Distribution of Bangâli Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Cawnpur . . .	189	Râê Bareli . . .	16
Allahâbâd . . .	1,167	Sîtapur . . .	12
Jhânsi	30	Kheri	50
Lalitpur . . .	22	Faizâbâd . . .	26
Benares . . .	2,362	Gonda	9
Mirzapur . . .	3	Bahraich . . .	11
Ghâzipur . . .	119	Sultânpur . . .	22
Ballia	84	Total .	5,251
Gorakhpur . . .	108	Males	2,372
Lucknow . . .	289	Females . . .	2,879

Banjâra.[1]—A tribe whose primary occupation is, or rather used to be, to act as grain carriers and suppliers to armies in the field. Their name is derived from the Sanskrit *vanijya* or *banijya-kâra*, "a merchant." Sir H. M. Elliot, whose account of the tribe is perhaps the most valuable part of his admirable "Supplement to the Glossary of Indian terms," the first attempt at a scientific account of the tribes of these Provinces, shows that the popular derivation from the Persian *biranjâr* or "rice-carriers" is untenable. He argues that the word must be of higher antiquity than (omitting fabulous legends) the Indian connection with Persia. "Thus we find mention of a cock-fight in the Banjâra camp in the story of Pramati in the Dasa Kumâra Charitra written by Dandi, a predecessor of Kâlidâsa, according to Colebrooke. It is to be confessed, however, that Wilson does not assign an earlier origin to this composition than the ninth century. Nevertheless, independent of this testimony, Banjâras seem to be clearly indicated, even by Arrian (*Indica, XI*). We may, therefore, rest assured that we are not to look to Persia for the origin of the name." On this question Professor Cowell[2] has remarked:—"Sir H. M. Elliot was

[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Pandit Baldeo Prasâd, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur; Pandit Badri Nâth, Deputy Collector, Kheri; Mr. W. H. O'N. Segrave, District Superintendent, Police, Basti; and the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Bareilly and Bijnor.

[2] *Academy*, 14th May, 1870.

misled when he supposed that the word Banjâra was necessarily of higher antiquity than the Indian connection with Persia, because it occurs in the Dasa Kumâra Charitra, written by Dandin in the eleventh or twelfth century. It is true that Professor Wilson in his analysis of the story of Pramati speaks of the Banjâra camp, but in the printed text of the original (p. 125) no such word occurs, but we have only *Mahati nigame naigamânam*. Dandin no doubt had Banjâras in his mind; but he cannot be quoted as an authority for the word." The theory that the title of the caste may be connected with the Hindi *ban-jârna* in some such sense as "burners or cleaners of the jungle" or "forest wanderers" is untenable.

The Banjâras of the Dakkhin.

2. Before considering the tribe as found in these Provinces, it may be well to put together some of the information about them obtainable from the Dakkhin, where they retain much more of their primitive manners and customs than the small branch which remains in these Provinces, where they have been much modified by association with other races. The chief authority for the Dakkhin branch is the report of Mr. Cumberlege, District Superintendent of Police at Wun, in the Berârs.[1] He explains that the Banjâras of the Dakkhin fall into three grand Hindu tribes, Mathuriya or "those from Mathura"; Lavâna who probably derive their name from being carriers of salt (Sans. *lavana*), and Châran (Sans. *châraṇa*, "a wanderer, pilgrim;" *châra*, "a spy"). "The three Hindu tribes all trace their descent from the great Brâhman and Râjput races of Upper India, and, as usual, ascribe their tribe segregation to some irregular marriage of a legendary kind contracted by their first ancestors. In these stories Guru Nânak, the Sikh Prophet, usually figures as the opportune miracle-worker and spiritual adviser. No doubt these stories of descent are founded on fact. It is most probable that some irregular marriage, made by adventurous wanderers into distant countries, did first cut off these branches from the parent stock, and plant them apart as distinct communities. From Mr. Cumberlege's memoir it may be conjectured, however, that the emigration which settled the Banjâra upon Dakkhin soil took place when these grain carriers came down with the Mughal armies early in the seventeenth century." (As a corroboration of this it may be noticed that the first mention of Banjâras in Muhammadan history

[1] Quoted in the *Berâr Gazetteer*, 193, *sqq*.

is in Sikandar's attack on Dholpur in 1504 A.D. [1]) "In fact they seem to have derived their whole origin and organisation from the long wars of the Delhi Emperors in the South, and the restoration of peace and prosperity is breaking them up. Neither their trade nor their tribal system can survive another generation of British predominance. Wherefore some account of their more striking peculiarities has at least the interest that attaches to a picture of things which we shall never see again."

The Châran Banjâras of the Dakkhin.

3. "Of the Châran tribe the Râthaur family," says Mr. Cumberlege, "is the strongest, and holds sway in Berâr, for all the Dakkhin is parcelled out among different Banjâra tribes, and no camp (*tânda*) trades or grazes cattle beyond its own border. The Chârans evidently came to the Dakkhin with Âsaf Jân, sometimes called Âsa Khân, the Wazîr Shâhjahân; and in the year 1630, or thereabouts, Bhangi and Jhangi Nâiks (represented to have been brothers, but certainly not such, though perhaps related) had with them 180,000 bullocks, and Bhagwân Dâs, the Burthiya Nâik, only 52,000. They accompanied Âsaf Jân, carrying his provisions during his raid into the Dakkhin. It was an object of Âsaf Jân to keep these bullocks well up with his force, and he was induced to give an order to Bhangi and Jhangi Nâiks, as they put forward excuses regarding the difficulty of obtaining grass and water for their cattle. This order was engraved on copper and in gold letters as follows:—

Ranjan ka pâni,
Chhappar ka ghâs,
Din ka tîn khûn mu'âf;
Aur jahân Âsaf Jân ké ghoré,
Wahan Bhangi Jhanji kâ bail.

This is still in the possession of the descendants of Bhangi, who are still recognised by the Haidarâbâd Court; and on the death of the representative of the family his successor receives a dress of honor (*khillat*) from His Highness the Nizâm. The meaning of the inscription seems to be—"If you can find no water elsewhere, you may even take it from the pots of my followers; grass you may take from the roofs of their huts; and if you commit three murders a day I will even pardon this, provided that where I find my cavalry I can always find Bhangi Jhangi's bullocks."

[1] Dowson's *Elliot*, V., 100. Brigg's *Ferishta*, I., 579.

Witchcraft among the Dakkhin Banjâras.

4. On this Mr. Cumberlege writes:—"Though not to such an extent as in former years, witchcraft still obtains in Berâr. I can confidently say this, as I had a case in this district wherein all the features coincided exactly with what I am told is still the practice of Banjâras when they fancy a woman a sorceress. The woman was knocked down and strangled by three or four men deputed by the Nâik of the camp, on her husband refusing to kill her, to kill and bury her: this they did, and the husband had afterwards to appear before the council (*panchâyat*), where he was mulcted of all he possessed, amounting in cattle and cash to about ₹2,000. Even when attacked by a bad fever or determined dysentery, they often put it down to foul play by some sorceress, and on such occasions the sufferer sends for some one who knows some spell (*mantra*) or is supposed to know something of sorcery (*jâdu*). A betel-quid is given to the sufferer and some spell is repeated. Should the sufferer not recover now, he sends for the Nâik, mentions the name of the person he suspects, or not, as the case may be, who sends five or six men, taken from each family in the camp, to any Châran Bhagat to enquire of him who is the sorceress; and, to place this fact beyond doubt, as this deputation goes along they bury a bone or any other article on the road, and make the Bhagat presently state where it was buried, and what the article was. On arriving at the Bhagat's residence, he tells each man his name, class, *gotra*, and denomination; that he knows they have come to enquire what has caused the illness of the person (mentioning his name and caste) who is suffering. This he must do directly after the salâms are exchanged, and before the others speak again. A relative of the sick man now places a rupee before a lighted wick; the Bhagat takes it up, looks steadily at it, and begins to sway about, make contortions of the face and body, etc., while the goddess Mariyâi (Mahâ Kâli) is supposed to have entered his body. He now puts down the rupee, and, being inspired, commences to state the date and hour on which the sick man got ill, the nature of the complaint, etc., and in an indignant tone asks them why they buried a certain article (mentioning it) on the road. Sometimes they acknowledge that he is a true Bhagat now, but generally the men call for some further proofs of his abilities. A goat in kid is then brought, the Bhagat mentions the sex of, and any distinguishing marks upon the kid; the goat is then killed, and if he has

guessed right the deputation becomes clamorous and requires the name of the sorceress. But the Bhagat keeps them waiting now and goes on to mention the names of other people residing in their camp, their children, and sometimes the names of any prized cows or bullocks; he also tells the representative of what family he has married into, etc. On this the latter presents his nazar; this was fixed at ₹25 formerly, but greed dictates the sum now, which is often as much as ₹40.

5. "The Bhagat now begins chanting some song, which he composes as he goes on, and introduces into it the names of the different families in the camp, having a word or two to say about each. The better portion get vile abuse, are called a bad lot, and disposed of quickly; but he now assumes an ironical appearance, begins to extol the virtues of a certain family, becomes facetious, and praises the representative of that family who is before him. All know that the sorceress is a member of that family; and its representative puts numberless questions to the Bhagat relative to his family and connections, his worldly goods, and what gods he worships; the name of the sorceress he calls for; inquires who taught her sorcery (*jádu*); and how and why it was practised in this particular instance. The business is now closed by a goat being killed and offered up to Biroliya, and then all return to their camp.

6. "Even now a man may refuse to acknowledge this Bhagat, and will, if the sorceress be a wife or daughter to whom he is attached, should he have money to take the business on to another tribunal. But as he has to pay the expenses of all the men who accompany him, all cannot afford to question a Bhagat's decision. Sometimes the man will tell his wife, if he is certain she will obey him, to commit suicide; and as she knows full well the punishment is death, and that she must meet it in some form almost at once, when thus enjoined she will obey generally. Otherwise the husband with a witness or two, taking advantage of the first opportunity when she has left the camp, kills and buries her with all her clothing and ornaments. A meeting of the council is held, the witnesses declare the business has been completed satisfactorily, and the husband may or may not agree to the judgment of the council with regard to his pecuniary liabilities. He has to pay all the expenses of the deputation; by the Bhagat is fined ₹100 or ₹150; and if he has refused to do the deed himself, and others have

had to do it for him, or the sick man dies, he has to give a large sum besides to the man's family for their support. This fine originally belonged to Bhangi Nâik's representative, Râmu Nâik; but it is often kept by the different Nâiks themselves now. Râmu has still great influence; but he has used his power so cruelly that many have seceded from his control, and have Nâiks of their own, whom they now obey almost implicitly. There are men in this district well known to me who have been fined six or eight thousand rupees for small misdemeanours, and it is hardly to be wondered at that this thing could not continue for ever." It is satisfactory to note that under the influence of British law these cruel proceedings are now practically unknown; but those best acquainted with the facts are certain that there would be an immediate recrudescence of it if the pressure of our administration were relaxed.

Human sacrifice among the Banjâras of the Dakkhin.

7. Up to our own day the Banjâras of the Dakkhin practised human sacrifice. General Sleeman[1] tells a story that the fort and part of the town of Sâgar stands on a wall said to have been built by a Banjâra. He was told that the lake would continue dry until he consented to sacrifice his daughter and her affianced husband. He built them up in a shrine and the waters rose, but no Banjâra will touch the water. Their women, even to the present day, are notorious for necromancy. They are, according to Sir Alfred Lyall,[2] "terribly vexed by witchcraft, to which their wandering and precarious existence especially exposes them in the shape of fever, rheumatism, and dysentery. Solemn enquiries are still held in the wild jungles where these people camp out like gipsies, and many an unlucky hag has been strangled by the sentence of their secret tribunals."

Religion of the Dakkhin Banjâras.

8. According to Mr. Cumberlege, "the Châran are all deists. There are Hindu gods they worship as having been holy men; but they only acknowledge one God, and look on Guru Nânak as the propagandist of their religion; Guru Nânak is supreme; but they worship Bâlaji, Mariyâi (Mahâ Kâli), Tulja Devi, Siva Bhaiya, Mitthu Bhûkiya, and Sati. There are smaller gods worshipped also, but the above

[1] *Rambles*, I., 129, *Indian Antiquary*, VIII., 219, *sqq.*
[2] *Asiatic Studies*, 89.

are the only gods worshippéd by the Chârans of Berâr. They have heard of Siva Dâs, but do not worship him as the men of the Telinga country and Central Provinces do. The reason is seen at a glance. Ours is the Râthaur country, those parts belong mostly to the Burthiya class; in fact the Telinga country is entirely theirs, and Siva Dâs was a Burthiya, not a Râthaur, I believe. The oath most sacred to them is taken in the name of Siva Bhaiya, a holy man who resided at Pohora, in the Wûn District, where there are still temples, I believe, to Siva Bhaiya and Mariyâi, and where a nephew of Siva Bhaiya, by name Sûka Bhaiya, still officiates. There are numbers of Bhagats, of varied celebrity, to whom they go on any serious difficulty; otherwise their own Nâiks, or the Nâik to whom the former is subordinate, adjudicates."

Ceremonies prior to crime.

9. "There is a hut set apart in every camp and devoted to Mitthu Bhûkiya, an old free-booter. No one may eat, drink, or sleep in this hut; and it is simply used for devotional purposes. In front of this hut is a flag-staff, to which a piece of white cloth is attached. By all criminals Mitthu Bhûkiya is worshipped as a clever free-booter; but he is more thought of on the other side of the Wârdha than here. However, where the white flag is seen in front of the hut, it is a sign that the camp worships Mitthu Bhûkiya, and should, therefore, be watched carefully when they are suspected of having committed crime. The men who have agreed and arranged the particulars regarding the carrying out of their scheme meet at night at this hut, where an image of Sati is produced; clarified butter (*ghi*) is put into a saucer, and into this a wick is placed, very broad at the bottom and tapering upwards: this wick, standing erect, is lit, an appeal is made to Sati for an omen, those worshipping mentioning in a low tone to the god where they are going and what the purpose. The wick is then carefully watched, and should it drop at all the omen is propitious. All immediately get up and make an obeisance to the flag, and start then and there for the business they have agreed on. They are unable to return to their homes before they start, because they must not speak to any one till their business has been carried through. And here we have a reason why Banjâras are rarely known to speak when engaged in a robbery, for, if challenged, these men, who have gone through the ceremony, may not reply. Should they have reached their destination, whether a village, hamlet, or unprotected cart, and are challenged,

if any one of them reply, the charm is broken and all return home. They must again take the omens now and worship again or give up the attempt altogether. But, I am told, they generally prefer to make certain of the man who is venturesome enough to challenge them by knocking him down and either killing him or injuring him so severely that he cannot interfere, and would not wish to meddle with their other arrangements. If one of the gang sneezes on the road it is also fatal; they must return to their camp at once." For further details regarding the methods of criminality of these Dakkhin Banjâras a reference may be made to Major E. J. Gunthorpe's "Notes on the Criminal Tribes residing in or frequenting the Bombay Presidency, Berâr and the Central Provinces."

Central Indian Banjâras. Worship of the ox.

10. The Banjâras of Central India have a curious form of ox worship.[1] "When sickness occurs they lead the sick man to the feet of the bullock called Hatâdiya (Sans. *Hatya-ádhya*, 'which it is an extra sin to slay'), for though they say that they pay reverence to images and that their religion is that of the Sikhs, the object of their worship is the Hatâdiya, a bullock devoted to the god Bâlaji. On his animal no burden is ever laid, but he is decorated with streamers of red-dyed silk and tinkling bells with many brass chains and rings on neck and feet, and strings of kauri shells, and silken tassels hanging in all directions; he moves steadily at the head of the convoy, and the place where he lies down on when he is tired, that they make their halting place for the day; at his feet they make their vows when difficulties overtake them, and, in illness, whether of themselves or cattle, they trust to his worship for a cure."

Banjarâs of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

11. The Banjâras of these Provinces have been classified at the last Census under the heads of Chauhân, Bahrûp, Guâr, Jâdon, Panwâr, Râthaur, and Tunwar. Of these, all, except the Bahrûp and Guâr, are well-known Râjput septs, and, as we have seen in the case of the Dakkhin Banjâras, the tribal tradition points to a Râjput origin. There is also a general tradition that they at one time held considerable territories in Oudh and the other submontane districts. Thus they are said to have been very early settlers in Bareilly, whence

[1] *Migratory Tribes of Central India*, by E. Balfour: *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N. S., Vol. XIII.

they were expelled by the Janghâra Râjputs.[1] In Kheri[2] the Jângrê Râjputs acquired Khairagarh from their allies the Banjâras. In Bahrâich[3] they were finally expelled from the Sijauli Pargana by the Chakladâr Hakîm Mehndi about 1821 A.D. In the Nânpâra Pargana of the same district they were finally coerced by Rasûl Khân, the Afghân, in 1632 A.D.[4] In the Dûn[5] they have a story that they attended to the commissariat of the Pândavas after their exile from Hastinapur, and were the founders of the town of Deoband, in the Sahâranpur District. In the Banjâra Tola of the town of Gopamau, in the Hardoi District, there are some Banjâras who call themselves Sayyid Salâri, and say that they are descended from the followers of the Saint.[6] On the other hand, those in Madras describe themselves as the descendants of Sugriva, the monkey chieftain who was the ally of Râma.[7] There can be no reasonable doubt that they are a very mixed race, composed of various elements, as is the case in Central India, where Sir Alfred Lyall speaks of them as "made up of contingents from various other castes and tribes, which may have at different times joined the profession."[8] The Census report gives the most important local sub-castes as—in Muzaffarnagar the Dhankûta, or "rice pounders," and the Labâna; in Aligarh, the Nandbansi; in Etâwah, the Jât; in Pilibhît, the Labâna; in the Tarâi, the Bhukiya (who take their name from their leader Mitthu Bhukiya), Guâl, Kotwâr, Labâna, and Râjput; in Kheri, the Guâr, Kora, and Mujhar; and in Bahrâich, the Mujhar.

Tribal organisation of the North-Western Provinces Banjâras.

12. The best account of the Banjâra tribes of these provinces is that given by Sir H. M. Elliot. He divides them into five great tribes as follows:—

(1) The *Turkiya*, "Turkish" or Muhammadan, with thirty-six sub-tribes or *gotras*, *viz.*, Tomar or Tunwar, Chauhân, Gahlot, Dilwâri, Alwi, Kanothi, Burki, Durki, Shaikh, Nathamîr, Aghwân, Badan, Chakirâha, Bahrâri, Padar, Kanîkê, Gharê, Chandaul, Teli, Charkha, Dhangya, Dhankikya, Gaddi, Tîtar, Hindiya, Râha, Marauthiya, Khakhara, Kareya, Bahlîm, Bhatti, Bandwâri,

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[1] *Settlement Report*, 19.
[2] *Settlement Report*, 10.
[3] *Settlement Report*, 41.
[4] *Oudh Gazetteer*, III., 6.
[5] Williams, *Memo.*, 77, sqq.
[6] *Settlement Report*, 130.
[7] Mullaly, *Notes*, 28.
[8] *Asiatic Studies*, 165.

Bargadda, Aliya, Khilji. "These assert that they came originally from Multân, and left their newly-chosen country of the Dakkhin under a leader called Rustam Khân, and first of all took up their abode at Badli Tânda, near Morâdâbâd, from which they have gradually spread to Bilâspur, Richho, and the neighbouring tracts. They are for the most part occupied as carriers."

(2) "The Baid Banjâras came from Bhatner under a leader called Dualha. Of them are eleven *gotras*—Jhaloi, Tandar, Hatâr, Kapâhi, Danderi, Kachni, Tarîn, Dharpâhi, Kîri, and Bahlîm. Their occupations are more various than those of the Turkiyas, as they are occasionally employed as doctors and weavers. They are found in Pilibhît, Kant, and in the neighbourhood of those places."

(3) "The Labâna Banjâras have also eleven *gotras*. They state that they are descended from Gaur Brâhmans, and came in Aurangzeb's time from Rintambûr. They engage almost entirely in agricultural pursuits alone." Of these people Mr. Ibbetson[1] writes:—"These men are generally associated with the Banjâras. With the exception of Muzaffargarh and Bahâwalpur, they are almost wholly confined to the hill and submontane districts. They are the carriers and hawkers of the hills, and are merely the Panjâbi representatives of that class of Banjâras, already mentioned, who inhabit the submontane tracts east of the Ganges. The Labânas of Gujarât are thus described by Captain Mackenzie:—"The Labânas are also a peculiar people. Their status among Sikhs is much the same as that of the Mahtams. They correspond to the Banjâras of Hindustân, carrying on an extensive trade by means of large herds of laden bullocks. Latterly they have taken to agriculture, but as an additional means of livelihood, not as a substitute for trade. As a section of the community they deserve every encouragement and consideration. They are generally fine, substantially built people. They also possess much spirit. In anarchical times, when the freaks and feuds of petty Governors would drive the Jâts or Gûjars to seek temporary abiding places away from their ancestral village, the Labânas would stand their ground, and perhaps improve the opportunity by extending their grasp over the best lands of the village, in which their shorter sighted and less provident lords of the manor had, in former periods, permitted them to take up their abode for purposes of commerce. Several cases of this kind came to light

[1] *Panjâb Ethnography*, 299.

during settlement, and in most of them the strength and spirit of progress were as apparent in the Labânas as were the opposite qualities conspicuous in their Gûjar opponents. Their principal village is Tânda (which means "a large caravan of laden bullocks") and is an instance of what I have above alluded to. Allowed by the Gûjar proprietors of Mota, they have got possession of the soil, built a town, and in every point of importance swamped the original proprietors. They have been recognised as proprietors, but feudatory to their former landlords, the Gûjars of Mota, paying them annually in recognition thereof a sum equal to one-tenth of the Government demand." This tribe of Banjâras take their name from their business of carrying salt (*lavana*). Sir J. Malcolm[1] says that the Banjâras and Labânas are Râjputs of various tribes, Râthaur, Jalaur, Panwâr, etc. "The Labânas who live in villages sometimes mix with other cultivators and sometimes have a village exclusively to themselves, are Sûdras, originally from Gujarât, a quiet inoffensive race differing widely from the Banjâras, though engaged in the same trade. The Labânas are also cultivators, but follow no other occupation. The Banjâras preserve both in dresses and usages a marked separation and independence. They often engage in great speculations on their own account, and are deemed honest in their dealings, though very ignorant and barbarous. They trust much to the bankers and merchants with whom they are concerned, and few keep accounts; but habit has made them very acute, and their memory is, from continual exercise, extremely retentive of the minutest particulars of their extended transactions."

The Mukeris.

(4) Of them Sir H. M. Elliot says:—"The Mukeri Banjâras in the northern parganas of Bareilly assert that they derive their name from Mecca (Makka), which one of their Nâiks, who had his camp (Tânda) in the vicinity, assisted Father Abraham in building. Leaving Mecca, they came and resided in Jhajjar, where their illustrious name became corrupted from Makkai to Mukeri. Their fabulous history is not worth recording, but their names also betray a strange compound of tribes, Musalmân and Hindu—Aghwân, Mughal, Khokhara, Chauhân, Simli Chauhân, Chotya Chauhân, Panjtakya Chauhân, Tanhar, Katheriya, Pathân, Tarîn Pathan, Ghori, Ghoriwâl, Bangaroa, Kanthya, Bahlîm." These are apparently the same people who

[1] *Central India*, II., 152, *sqq*.

are called Mukris, in Sholapur.[1] There another explanation of the word is current. It is said to be derived from a word *Mukrna*, "to deny," which does not appear in the Hindustâni dictionaries. The story goes that a servant of Tipû Sultân bought a quarter of corn from a Mukri, and found it, when he weighed it at home, ten pounds short. He brought the fact to the notice of the Sultân, who sent for the corn dealer and demanded for explanation. The Mukri denied the fact and made the full weight in the presence of the king, who had twice weighed the corn before and found it short. The king was embarrassed, and had nothing to say against the man, and gave him the name of the "Denier." A third, and perhaps, more probable explanation is, that it is a corruption of Makkeri, and means nothing more than a seller of maize (*makka*). Something more will be said of the Mukris later on.

Bahrûp Banjâras.

(5) Of whom Sir H. M. Elliot says:—"They are, for the most part, Hindus, and lead a more wandering life than the Musalmâns. They are divided into the tribes of Râthaur, Chauhân or Kuri, Panwâr, Tomar, and Bhurtiya. The origin of the first four is sufficiently apparent from their names. The fifth is said to be derived from a Gaur Brâhman. Of these tribes again there are several ramifications. Of the Râthaur there are four—Muchhâri, Bâhuki, Murhâwat, and Panot: of the Muchhâri there are fifty-two divisions; of the Bâhuki there are twenty-seven; of the Murhâwat there are fifty-six; and of the Panot there are twenty-three. The Chauhâns, who have forty-two *gotras*, are unanimous in saying that they came from Mainpuri. The Panwârs have twenty *gotras*, and state that they came from Delhi. The Bhurtiya have fifty-two *gotras*. They claim Chithor as their original seat. The Bahrûp Banjâras, like all the other clans, intermarry, but do not allow of any connection between members of the same *gotra*. They receive the daughters of Nats in marriage, but do not allow their own daughters to marry into Nat families; and they have some curious customs at their marriages which need not be detailed in this place."

Nâik Banjâras.

13. In addition to the five main tribes described by Sir H. M. Elliot there is another which is usually classed as an offshoot of them, the Nâiks. There is a tribe of this name in the Panjâb. Mr. Ibbetson says that the

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, XX., 203; XIX., 138.

"headmen of both Thoris and Banjâras are called Nâik." This, as we have already seen, is the name used for them throughout the Dakkhin and Central India. Mr. Maclagan[1] says.—"In Rohtak they are said to be a branch of Hindu Dhânuks, who come from Jaypur. They were also represented to me as an agricultural tribe of Râjputs. Mr. Fagan, who kindly made enquiries for me, says they may be taken to be Aheris, that they state that they were originally Râjputs, and have the same *gotras* as Râjputs, and that they generally act as village watchmen; while those returned at Firozpur were labourers on the Sirhind Canal." They take their name from the Sanskrit *nayaka*, "a leader." In the Gorakhpur Division, where they are principally found, they assert that they are Sanâdh Brâhmans, and fix their original settlement in Pilibhît. Polygamy is allowed; polyandry prohibited. They appear to follow the customs of orthodox Hindus. If an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue, her parents have to give a tribal feast and a recitation of the Satyanârâyana Katha. A sum of money, known as *tilak*, is paid by the relatives of the bride to those of the bridegroom. A man can put away his wife for adultery by leave of the tribe or council. Such women cannot remarry in the tribe, and widow marriage is forbidden. They have the usual birth, death, and marriage ceremonies. They burn their dead and perform the *srâddha*. They employ Sarwariya Brâhmans as their family priests, and appear to be in all points orthodox Hindus. They are landlords, cultivators, and dealers in grain and other country produce.

The Mukeri Banjâras.

14. We have already seen that they claim to have originally come from Makka. Another story told in Mirzapur is that their ancestor was one Makka Banjâra, who helped Father Abraham to build Mecca; and that they emigrated into India with the armies of the early Muhammadan invaders. Another name which they arrogate to themselves is Ahl-i-Quraish, or that of the Arabian tribe, from which Muhammad was descended (see *Shaikh*). They have two endogamous sub-castes—the Purbiya or "Eastern," and the Pachhiwâha or "Western." The Purbiya Mukeris have two sections, Banaudhiya and Malwariya, which they derive from two towns named Banaudh and Malwar, in the Arrah District of Bengal. From this it may be gathered that their last movement was from East to West, and that they have forgotten

[1] *Panjâb Census Report*, 311.

their real origin, which was probably from the West; the Malwariyas being from Mârwâr, and the Banaudhiyas from Banaudh, which included Southern Ondh and the Districts of Jaunpur, Azamgarh and Benares. The Pachhiwâhas are also divided into two sections, Khân and Shaikh. They do not, now at least, admit outsiders into their community. Marriage among them usually takes place at the age of seven. They follow the Muhammadan religious and social rules, and, of course, allow widow marriage. They have, however, the Hindu rules of succession to property. They are professedly Muhammadans of the Sunni sect, but they retain many Hindu usages. They worship the Pânchonpîr in the manner common to all the inferior Muhammadan tribes of the Eastern Districts; but they also make sacrifices to Kâli Bhawâni at the Naurâtra of Chait. They bury their dead and offer to them sweets (*halwa*) and cakes at the Shab-i-barât. Their occupation is grinding and selling flour and other provisions, and dealing in grain. They follow the Muhammadan rules regarding food, and drink spirits.

15. In Kheri they are known as Banjâra and Byopâri or "dealer." They trace their origin to Jaypur and Jodhpur. They have three endogamous sections—Kora, Muchhâri and Miyân. They visit periodically a temple of Lalita Devi, at a place called Tilokpur, somewhere in the Rajputâna country. There also, when they can afford it, they get the birth hair of their children shaved. In Cawnpur they give their endogamous sub-castes as Râthaur, Panwâr-Chauhân, Gaur, and Kachhwâha, which are all the names of well-known Râjput septs. Their rule of exogamy is stated to be that they cannot marry within a family which is known to be descended from the same parents, or which can be traced to a common ancestor; nor in the family of the maternal uncle or father's sister; nor two sisters at the same time; but a man may marry the sister of his deceased wife. When the bride is introduced into the family of her husband she has to cook sweetened rice, with which she feeds all the clansmen. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to keep. There is no bride price, except in the case of elderly men, who have a difficulty in finding wives. Widow marriage and the levirate are both allowed under the usual conditions.

Other Hindu Banjâras of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

16. In Kheri at the marriage ceremony they place four pitchers (*ghara*) one on the top of the other in seven piles, and in the centre two pestles (*mûsar*), and a water jar (*kalsa*). Close to this

the Pandit makes a holy square (*chauk*), and performs the fire sacrifice (*hom*). After this the pair, with their clothes tied, walk seven times round the pestles, and the father of the bride worships the feet of the bridegroom and makes him an offering of two or four rupees. This is the respectable form. In the inferior form, known as Dharauna, the bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom, and the marriage is completed by a feast given to the brotherhood.

17. The funeral ceremonies are of the normal type. The Kheri Banjâras are reported not to perform the *srâddha* or to employ Brâhmans at death; in Cawnpur, on the contrary, they carry out the orthodox ritual.

Religion.

18. In Cawnpur they worship Hardeo or Hardaur Lâla, Zâhirpîr, the Miyân of Amroha, and Kâlu Deo, who is said to have a shrine somewhere in the Dakkhin. Goats are offered to Kâlu Deo and Miyân by any one but women. Sometimes only the ear of the animal is cut and a drop or two of blood sprinkled on the altar, and sometimes a cocoanut is substituted for a goat. In Kheri they are reported to prefer the worship of Bhagwân and Parameswara, and to be initiated in a temple in the Sahâranpur District. Their religious guides are Brâhmans of their own, who teach them only to worship Bhagwân and not to tell lies. They occasionally offer goats to Devi. They swear on the Ganges or by standing in water or walking through fire.

Social customs of Hindu Banjâras.

19. In Kheri they eat the flesh of wild pigs and goats, but not fowls. They drink spirits and use opium, and the hemp intoxicants *bhang* and *gânja*, freely. In Cawnpur they will eat *kachchi* and *pakki* with Brâhmans, and will smoke only with their brethren. Some of them are traders, and a few are now taking to agriculture, as the profits of the carrying trade are gradually becoming reduced.

Other Muhammadan Banjâras.

20. Those in Bareilly and Pilibhît say that they were driven there by Ahmad Shâh Durrâni's invasion. They are divided into two endogamous subcastes—Gaurithân and Baidguar.[1] They follow the orthodox rules of the Muhammadan faith, and work as cultivators, carriers of, and dealers in, grain.

[1] But see *Baidgudr*.

Banjâras and crime.

21. In former times the Banjâras especially in Gorakhpur and the neighbouring districts, had an evil reputation for dakaiti and similar offences.[1] This is in a great measure a thing of the past. In recent years they have come under the notice of the police in connection with the kidnapping of girls. There can be little doubt that most, if not all of them, occasionally introduce girls of other castes into the tribe. Quite recently the police in the Agra District have found reason to suspect that some of them in the guise of Commissariat contractors carry on an extensive trade in stolen cattle, and are in the habit of appropriating and changing the brands on the so-called Brâhmani bulls which are released by Hindus on the occasion of a death.

Cattle trade.

22. One of the most important trades carried on in the present day by the Banjâras is that of the purchase and sale of cattle used for agricultural purposes. Cattle are largely bred along the Jumna in the direction of Agra and Mathura. These are bought up by Banjâras, who drive them in large herds to great distances about the time when the agricultural seasons are commencing. They sell them on credit with a promise of payment when the crop is ripe. At such times they come round to realise their debts. They seldom or never take bonds or resort to the law courts; but they appear at the houses of their creditors, and if not promptly paid, practise a form of coercion known as *dharna*, by encamping close to the house of the defaulter and using vile language to his womenkind wherever they venture to show themselves. This form of pressure appears to be effective with even the most callous debtor, and it is understood that they generally succeed in realising their money. This result is brought about by the popular fear felt for the Banjâra, who is a wild-looking semi-savage who can make his presence most disagreeably felt.

Appearance and manners.

23. With the partial disappearance of the Banjâra carrier before our roads and railways a most picturesque element is being lost in the generally squalid life of our bâzârs. No one who sees them in their original state can help being struck by their resemblance in figure and dress to some of the Western gypsies. To Dr. Ball[2] a camp of Labânas immediately recalled to his memory the Zingari of

[1] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 353, 415; *Report Inspector-General, Police*, North-Western Provinces, 1868, page 34; 1871, page 47 (a); 1870, page 99 (b).

[2] *Jungle Life*, 516.

the lower Danube and Wallachia. And he was particularly impressed by the peculiar minor key of the music which is so characteristic of these people. In these Provinces the women are skilled in a peculiar form of woollen embroidery, and pride themselves on their bright coloured boddices (*choli*) and jackets (*angi*) ornamented in this way. Some wear a sort of horn made of wood in their hair, over which the sheet (*chádar*) is draped in a very peculiar and graceful fashion. The women, who are much taller and more robust than the people among whom they live, stride along the roads in a particularly bold and independent way. But their characteristic dress is seen to most advantage in their seats in the Dakkhin. Mr. Mullaly[1] writes of the women as "comely and above the average height of the women of this country. They are easily distinguished by their dress and a profusion of jewellery they wear. Their costume is the gown (*lahnga*) of khârua cloth, red or green, with a quantity of embroidery. The boddice, with embroidery on the front and on the shoulders, covers the bosom, and is tied by variegated cords at the back, the ends of the cords being ornamented with cowries and beads; a covering cloth of khârua cloth, with embroidery, is fastened in at the waist, and hangs at the side with a quantity of tassels, and strings of cowries. Their jewels are very numerous, and include strings of beads of ten or twenty rows with a cowrie as a pendant threaded on horse hair, a silver necklace (*hansli*), a sign of marriage. They wear brass or horn bracelets, ten or twelve in number, extending to the elbow on either arm, with a piece of embroidered silk, one inch wide, tied to the right wrist. Anklets of ivory or bone are only worn by the married women; they are removed on the death of the husband. Silk embroidery adorned with tassels and cowries is also worn as an anklet by all women. Their other jewels are a nose ornament, a silver pendant from the upper part of the ear, attached to a silver chain which hangs to the shoulder, and a profusion of silver, brass, and lead rings. Their hair is, in the case of unmarried women, unadorned, brought up and tied in a knot at the top of the head; with married women it is fastened in like manner with a cowrie or a brass button, and heavy pendants are fastened to the temple. The latter is an essential sign of marriage, and its absence is a sign of widowhood." There is no doubt that they have a patois of

[1] *Notes*, 31, *sq.*

their own; but it has as yet not been fully collected. Dr. Ball says that he was "informed by a Russian Prince, who travelled in India in 1874, that one of his companions, a Hungarian nobleman, found himself able to converse with the Banjâras of Central India in consequence of his knowledge of the Zingari language." He also states that "the Dîwân of Kudibuga told me that the strong-minded Banjâra women are in the habit of inflicting severe chastisement on their husbands with their very large sticks (*bari bari lâthi*), a custom which also prevails in the Nicobar Islands."

Distribution of Banjâras according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Chauhân.	Bahrûp.	Gaur.	Jâdon.	Panwâr.	Râthaur.	Tunwar.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn .	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	956	939	1,877
Sahâranpur .	578	1,865	...	...	178	528	10	3,836	3,494	10,489
Muzaffarnagar .	880	112	...	53	769	637	107	1,706	88	3,854
Meerut . .	...	...	...	...	...	98	...	253	353	704
Bulandshahr .	356	...	...	1	1	95	...	27	83	563
Aligarh . .	102	...	123	2	50	1,146	363	844	17	2,647
Mathura . .	166	...	1	21	78	205	2	108	770	1,351
Agra . . .	140	...	6	347	92	319	...	225	207	1,336
Farrukhâbâd .	245	...	...	23	50	31	3	353	170	875
Mainpuri . .	...	...	...	94	...	281	...	311	31	717
Etâwah . .	550	...	1	352	204	533	...	763	23	2,426
Etah . . .	393	...	2	43	166	590	21	617	50	1,882
Bareilly . .	...	...	67	...	...	...	...	...	7,915	7,982
Bijnor . .	...	...	154	...	335	966	...	1,126	2,606	5,187
Budâun . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	13
Morâdâbâd .	...	...	189	...	...	...	...	375	2,598	3,162
Shâhjahânpur .	...	...	1	...	8	53	3	45	149	259
Pilibhît . .	99	31	459	23	270	1,343	...	1,664	5,506	9,395
Cawnpur . .	25	...	124	2	112	154	...	11	2	430
Allahâbâd . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3
Jhânsi . .	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	16	...	16
Ghâzipur . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1

Distribution of Banjâras according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Chauhân.	Bahrdp.	Gaur.	Jâdon.	Panwar.	Râthaur.	Tanwar.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Ballia . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	10
Gorakhpur .	6	...	10	...	...	...	...	63	36	115
Basti . .	3	68	...	...	...	39	...	1	48	159
Tarâi . .	...	...	36	...	...	190	3	2,747	911	33,887
Lucknow . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	34	...	34
Unâo . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	142	142
Râê Bareli .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	42	44
Sîtapur . .	16	...	2	...	...	...	...	27	199	244
Hardoi . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	25
Kheri . .	40	102	918	...	465	1,273	...	1,422	407	4,627
Faizâbâd . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	8
Gonda . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	43	43
Bahraich . .	64	...	56	...	685	446	6	934	80	2,271
Partâbgarh .	33	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	35
Total .	3,198	2,178	2,149	961	3,463	8,934	518	18,474	26,953	66,828

Bânsphor.[1]—(*Bâns*, "bamboo," *phorna*, "to split").—A sub-caste of Doms who may be considered separately as they have been separately enumerated at the last Census. Those in Mirzapur represent themselves to be immigrants from a place called Bisurpur or Birsupur in the Native State of Panna, which, according to some, is identical with Birsinhpur, a place north-west of the town of Rîwa. In Gorakhpur they call themselves Gharbâri, or "settled" Doms, in contradistinction to the Magahiya, or vagrant branch of the tribe. Their immigration from the west is said in Mirzapur to have commenced some four generations ago and still continues. They profess to undertake occasional pilgrimages to their old settlement to worship a local Mahâdeva. In Gorakhpur they have a story that they are the descendants of one Supach Bhagat, who was a votary of Râmchandra. He had two wives, Mân Devi and Pân

[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur, and notes received through Mr. W. Hosy, C.S., Gorakhpur, and Bâbu Sânwal Dâs, Deputy Collector, Hardoi.

Devi, the first of whom was the ancestress of the Bânsphors. They freely, like other Doms, admit outsiders into the caste, and this is generally the result of an intrigue with one of their women. The applicant for admission has to give a feast of rice, pulse, pork, and spirits to the brotherhood, and when he has drunk with them he is admitted to full caste rights.

Internal organization.

2. The sub-caste being a purely occupational offshoot from the original Dom tribe, their internal organization is rather vague. Thus at the last Census they were enumerated under one main sub-caste, the Dhânuk, who, though possibly allied to the Dom race, are generally treated as distinct, and the Benbansi of Gonda. In Bhâgalpur, according to Mr. Risley,[1] they have a number of exogamous sections (*pangat*); but other Bânsphors on the Nepâl frontier regulate their marriages by local sections (*dih*); while others in the town of Bhâgalpur have neither *pangat* nor *dih*. In Mirzapur they enumerate eight exogamous sections: Mahâwati, Chamkel, Gausel, Samudra, Nahar, Kalai, Magariha, and Saraiha; and they reinforce the rule of section exogamy by prohibiting marriages with the daughter of the maternal uncle, of their father's sister, and of their own sister; also they do not intermarry with a family in which one of these relations marries until at least one or two generations have passed. Similarly, in Hardoi, where they have no sub-castes or sections, they are reported to prohibit marriage with first cousins on both the father's and mother's sides. In Gorakhpur they name, like so many castes of this social grade, seven endogamous sub-castes: Bânsphor; Mangta, or "begging" Doms; Dharkâr, which has been treated as a separate caste; Nâtak, or dancers; Tasiha; Halâlkhor, "one to whom all food is lawful;" and Kûnchbandhiya, or makers of the brushes constructed out of the roots of the *kans* grass used by weavers for cleaning the thread.

Tribal Council.

3. The Bânsphors on the whole agree with the customs of the Doms and Dharkârs, of whom an account has been separately given; but, as might be expected from their living a more settled life than the vagrant Doms, they are more completely Hinduised. Their caste council, under a hereditary president (*Chaudhari*), is a very powerful and influential body, the members of which are, however, only a sort of assessors to the

[1] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 60.

president, who, after consultation with them, gives any orders he pleases. If a man is caught in an intrigue with a Dhobin or Domin he is permanently excommunicated, and the same rule applies to a woman detected in an amour with a man of either of these castes. Intrigues with persons of more respectable castes involve expulsion only until the necessary feasts of expiation are given to the brethren. In addition to the feast the offender has always, in Mirzapur, to pay a cash fine of one-and-a-quarter rupees. Monogamy is the rule, but there is no restriction against a man having as many wives as he can marry and support. Concubinage with a woman of another caste is prohibited, and the caste look on the very idea of polyandry with such horror that it is more than doubtful if it could ever have been a tribal institution. If an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue with a clansman she is married to him by order of the council, and her father has to give a dinner to the brethren. When a married woman offends in this way, both her husband and father have to give a feast; but, as among all these tribes, inter-tribal infidelity is lightly regarded; a woman is not condemned except on the actual evidence of eye-witnesses.

Marriage rules.

4. Marriage takes place usually in infancy; and, in Mirzapur, if a girl is not married by the time she comes to puberty, her parents are put out of caste. Marriages are arranged by the brother-in-law of the boy's father, and the bride-price is fixed in Mirzapur by tribal custom at four-and-a-quarter rupees, four annas being added as *siwâi* for good luck. If a wife habitually commit adultery, eat with a low-caste person, or give her husband food in an impure dish, she is put away with the sanction of the council. A woman is allowed to leave her husband only if he be put out of caste. It is said, in Mirzapur, that a divorced wife cannot marry again. This is true, so far as that, of course, she cannot go through the regular service which is restricted to virgin brides; but she can live with a man by the *sagâi* form, and the connection, after it has been ratified by a feast, is binding, and her children are legitimate. Widows are married by the *sagâi*, or *dharauna* form, generally to a widower, and their children are recognised as heirs. The only ceremony is that the husband gives the woman a new suit of clothes, which are put on her inside the house at night, in secret, and he then eats with the family of his father-in-law. Next day he takes his bride home, and feeds his clansmen, on which the union is recognised. The levirate prevails under the usual

restrictions. Even if a widow be taken over by the younger brother, her children by the first marriage inherit the estate of their father. A man may adopt his brother's, or daughter's, not his sister's, son. A woman can adopt if there be no one in her husband's family to support her.

Birth ceremonies.

5. In their birth ceremonies the Bânsphors agree with the Dharkârs. The mother, during her confinement is, in Mirzapur, attended by a woman of the Basor caste. There is no rite performed on the sixth day, and the mother is impure till the twelfth day (*barahi*). They have the usual dread of the menstrual and parturition impurity. On the twelfth day a hog is sacrificed to the deceased ancestors of the family, and the brethren eat the flesh boiled with rice. The woman has to worship the well from which water is drawn for the use of the family by walking five times round it in the course of the sun and marking it with red lead. A man does not cohabit with his wife for two months after her confinement. The only approach to a puberty ceremony is the ear-boring, which takes place at the age of three or five, but in some cases is delayed to a later date, and it marks an approach to Hinduism, that they ask the Pandit to fix a lucky time for its performance. From that time the child is regarded as a member of the tribe and must conform to caste usages regarding food.

Marriage.

6. In the same way the Pandit draws auspices (*ganana ganna*) of marriages. The betrothal is settled by the father of the boy exchanging with the girl's father a leaf platter full of liquor in which a rupee is placed, and the brother-in-law of the bridegroom ties a turban on the head of the bride's father. The marriage ceremony resembles that of Dharkârs (*q. v.*). It is preceded by the *matmangara* ceremony. The earth is dug by the bridegroom's mother, who offers a burnt sacrifice (*homa*) to the village deities (*dih*). In the centre of the marriage shed (*mânro*) is fixed up a branch of the fig tree (*gûlar*) and the cotton tree (*semal*). The usual anointing precedes the marriage. The bride's nails are solemnly cut (*nahchhu*) and her feet are coloured with lac dye (*mahâwar*). The usual wave ceremony (*parachhan*) is done with a pestle (*mûsar*) and a water jar (*kalsa*). At the bride's door her father makes a mark (*tîka*) on the forehead of the bridegroom with rice and curds. The bride's father washes the feet of the bride and bridegroom in a square in the court-yard. They sit facing east, and the bride's father worships the fig tree branch, and

thon, in imitation of Hindus, Gauri and Ganesa. Then holding some *kusa* grass in his hand he formally gives away the bride (*kanyâ-dâna*). The clothes of the pair are knotted together, and they walk five times round the fig and cotton branches, while at each revolution the girl's brother sprinkles a little parched rice into a sieve which the bridegroom holds. This he scatters on the ground, and the ceremony ends by the bridegroom marking the girl's head with red lead, which is the binding portion of the ceremony. Then they go into the retiring room (*kohabar*), where jokes are played on the bridegroom, and he receives a present from his mother-in-law. As is usual with these tribes they have the ceremony of plunging the wedding jars (*kalsa dubâna*) into water a day or two after the wedding.

Death ceremonies.

7. The dead are cremated, except young children or those who die of epidemic disease, whose bodies are thrown into a river or buried. After the cremation they chew leaves of the *nîm* tree as a mark of mourning. The death pollution lasts ten days, during which the mourner every night lays out a platter of food on the road by which the corpse was removed for its use. On the tenth day the chief mourner throws five lumps (*pinda*) of rice boiled in milk (*khîr*) into water in the name of the dead, and, on returning home, sacrifices a hog in the name of the deceased, which is boiled with rice and eaten by the clansmen. No Brâhmans are employed at any of these ceremonies. In the festival of the dead (*pitripaksha*) in Kuâr they pour off water on the ground every day for fifteen days in honour of deceased ancestors; and on the ninth day they offer cakes (*pûri*), sweet rice (*bakhîr*), and pork, to their ancestors. These are laid out in the court-yard for their use. On the fifteenth day they offer rice, pulse, bread, and pork, if obtainable, in the same way. Any senior member of the family presents the offering.

Religion.

8. Their chief deity, in Mirzapur, is the Vindhyâbâsini Devi, of Bindhâchal, whom they worship on the ninth day of Chait, with hogs, goats, cakes (*pûri*), and pottage (*lapsi*). They honour the village gods (*dih*) with a sacrifice of a hog or goat; butter, barley, and treacle are burnt in a fire offering. On the fifth of Sâwan they lay milk and parched rice near a snake's hole. They respect the pîpal tree, and will not cut or injure it. In Gorakhpur they worship Kâlika and Samai. The former is worshipped at marriages, child-birth, etc., with an offering

of a young pig, one-and-a-quarter jars of liquor, flowers, and ground rice boiled in treacle and milk (*pithi*). To Samai is offered a yearling pig. Maidens and widows married by the *Sagâi* form are not permitted to join in this worship, which takes place in a corner of the house set apart for the purpose. They do not employ Brâhmans in their domestic ceremonies, which are carried out by some old man (*syâna*) of the family. In Hardoi their tribal deity is Kâla Deo, whose image is painted on the wall of the house, and worshipped at any event, such as marriage, birth, etc., in the family. They also sometimes sacrifice a goat or sheep to Devi, and the worshippers consume the offerings. Their holidays are the Phagua or Holi, at which they get drunk and eat choice food; the Râmnaumi, on the ninth of Chait, when they worship the Vindhyabâsini Devi; the Tij, on the third of Sâwan, when women pray for the long life of their husbands, and the Kajari, on the third of Bhâdon, when women get drunk, and all rules of sexual morality are ignored. In Hardoi, on the Karwa Chauth feast, the women fast and worship the moon by pouring water out of an earthen pot (*karwa*), whence the name of the festival. At the Guriya feast girls make dolls of rags, which are beaten with sticks by boys on the banks of a tank. The dolls are believed to represent snakes, and the feast is in commemoration of the destruction of serpents by Garuda. They worship the dead by laying out food in seven leaf platters and letting the children or crows eat it. They have a great respect for the village shrine, and never dare to tread on the pieces of earthenware horses, etc., with which it is decorated. They also, as is shown in the birth ceremonies, worship wells. The sainted dead specially delight in the savour of pork, and give trouble if not honoured with this sacrifice.

Social customs.

9. Women wear in the ears the ornaments known as *utarna* and *karnphûl*, bead necklaces (*dhorkauwa*), and bangles (*chûri*) on the arms: anklets (*pairi*), brass rings on their fingers. Boys and girls have two names, one for ordinary use and one kept secret. They swear on the sun or the heads of their children. Those who break an oath become smitten with leprosy or lose their property. Disease, generally due to demoniacal possession, is treated by the Ojha, who also prescribes in cases of the Evil-eye. They will not eat beef, nor touch a Dom, Dhobi, the wife of a younger brother, the wife of the elder brother-in-law, or the wife of their sister's son. They will not mention their eldest son by his name. To do so is regarded as a sin. They eat

pork, fowls, goats, and other animals, but not the cow, monkey, alligator, snake, lizard, jackal, or rat. Men eat before women. They salute their castemen in the form *Râm ! Râm !*

Occupation.

10. Some work as ordinary day-labourers, but their business is making fans, baskets, and boxes of bamboo. Some work as sweepers and remove night-soil. No other caste will touch food or water from their hands.

Distribution of Bânsphors according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Dhânuk.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . .	...	156	...	156
Sahâranpur . .	...	5	87	92
Farrukhâbâd . .	...	94	...	94
Mainpuri . .	...	19	...	19
Bareilly . .	...	7	...	7
Morâdâbâd . .	...	...	20	20
Shâhjahânpur . .	...	66	...	66
Pilibhît . .	...	353	...	353
Cawnpur . .	...	44	...	44
Banda . . .	...	4	...	4
Lalitpur . .	...	4,360	...	4,360
Mirzapur . .	...	64	...	64
Ghâzipur . .	...	28	...	28
Ballia . . .	...	447	...	447
Gorakhpur .	...	466	1	467
Basti . . .	...	7	...	7
Azamgarh . .	...	67	...	67
Lucknow . .	1,102	729	...	1,831
Unâo . . .	...	36	...	36
Râê Barcli . .	422	7	...	429
Sîtapur . .	308	853	...	1,161
Kheri . . .	...	6	...	6
Gonda . . .	295	327	...	622
Bahrâich . .	1,534	728	3	2,265
Partâbgarh . .	4,467	218	1	4,686
Total .	8,128	9,093	112	17,333

Banya.—(Sanskrit, *banija, vanija.*)—The great trading class of Northern India. Pedantically the Banya is known as Baqqâl—a term applied in Arabia and Persia to greengrocers. When he becomes a large merchant he is known as Mahâjan. Banya is, in fact, a generic term including a large number of endogamous sub-castes, of whom some account has been given in separate articles. The Banya has rather an indifferent reputation in the country-side, where he is hated and despised for his habits of money-grubbing, meanness, and rapacity. But at the same time he is an indispensable element in the social life of the people whose trade and business he finances. The modern Banya does not seem to have changed much since the time of Tavernier,[1] who writes:—"Those of this caste are so subtle and nimble in trade that the Jews may be their 'prentices. They accustom their children betimes to fly idleness, and instead of suffering them to lose their time by playing in the streets, as we generally do, they teach them arithmetic, which they are so perfect at, that without making use either of pen or ink or counters, but only of their memories, they will in a moment cast up the most difficult account that can be imagined. They always live with their fathers, who instruct them in trade, and do nothing but what they show them. If any man in the heat of passion chafe at them, they will hear him patiently without making any reply, and parting coldly from him will not see him again till three or four days, when they think their passion may be over. They never eat anything that has life, nay, they would rather die than kill the smallest animal or vermin, being in that point above all things the most zealous observers of the law. They never fight nor go to war, neither will they eat or drink at the house of a Râjput."

2. The current proverbs abound with chaff at the Banya:—*Na Banya mít na besva sati*—"A Banya is as little a friend as a prostitute is chaste"; *Banya máré jan, thag máré anjân*—"The Banya cheats his friends, and the rogue, strangers," and so on.

3. At the same time some of the Banya sub-divisions, like the Agarwâla and Oswâl, are perhaps some of the purest races in Northern India.

4 In his social habits the Banya is very precise in the matter of food. In religion he is either a Hindu or Jain, or, as he calls himself, a Sarâogi, a word derived from the Sanskrit *srávaka*, "a disciple of the Buddha."

[1] *Travels*, 166, *sqq.*

Distribution of Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindu.	Jain.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	3,212	234	3,446
Sahâranpur	31,170	6,075	37,245
Muzaffarnagar	31,997	9,388	41,385
Meerut	51,043	10,378	68,321
Bulandshahr	39,579	1,265	40,844
Aligarh	46,472	2,507	48,979
Mathura	39,602	2,041	41,643
Agra	45,060	13,371	58,431
Farrukhâbâd	25,137	1,048	26,185
Mainpuri	21,452	5,759	27,211
Etâwah	27,608	2,117	29,725
Etah	23,864	4,933	28,797
Bareilly	22,101	4	22,105
Bijnor	18,331	908	19,239
Budâun	31,307	229	31,536
Morâdâbâd	31,970	1,002	32,972
Shâhjahânpur	23,573	36	23,609
Pilibhît	7,303	11	7,314
Cawnpur	33,939	415	34,354
Fatehpur	19,338	83	19,421
Bânda	22,274	282	22,556
Hamirpur	14,667	107	14,774
Allahâbâd	46,131	568	46,699
Jhânsi	13,556	2,521	16,077
Jâlaun	14,304	164	14,468
Lalitpur	1,893	9,546	11,439

Distribution of Banyas according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Hindu.	Jain.	Total.
Benares	21,263	138	21,401
Mirzapur	23,754	281	24,035
Jaunpur	23,745	6	23,751
Ghâzipur	32,685	27	32,712
Ballia	44,243	...	44,243
Gorakhpur	100,200	40	100,240
Basti	53,155	...	53,155
Azamgarh	38,380	...	38,380
Kumâun	4,925	...	4,925
Garhwâl	1,920	2	1,922
Tarâi	2,850	39	2,889
Lucknow	17,231	797	18,028
Unâo	15,805	8	15,813
Râê Bareli	16,512	23	16,535
Sîtapur	15,013	234	15,247
Hardoi	27,175	...	27,175
Kheri	13,473	10	13,483
Faizâbâd	34,771	161	34,932
Gonda	33,108	...	33,108
Bahrâich	20,263	48	20,311
Sultânpur	23,524	...	23,524
Partâbgarh	13,420	130	13,550
Bârabanki	13,944	950	14,894
Total .	1,279,246	83,976	1,363,222

Bârahseni.—(*Bârah*, twelve ; *sena*, an army).—A sub-caste of Banyas found principally in the Western Districts. The last Census shows none in Benares ; but Mr. Sherring[1] speaks of them as a considerable colony of bankers :—"They state that their original home was Agroha. In Benares they are of the Garga *gotra*."

Distribution of the Bârahseni Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	8	Bareilly . . .	3
Meerut . . .	3	Bijnor . . .	12
Bulandshahr . . .	1,791	Budâun . . .	5,798
Aligarh . . .	12,930	Morâdâbâd . . .	4,511
Mathura . . .	4,383	Shahjâhânpur . .	33
Agra	315	Pilibhît . . .	18
Farrukhâbâd . . .	11	Tarâi	12
Mainpuri . . .	625		
Etah	2,329		
		Total .	32,683

Barai, Baraiya.—(Sanskrit *vritti*, "occupation, maintenance.")—The caste engaged in the cultivation of the *piper* betel, usually known as *pân* (Sanskrit, *parna*), the leaf *par excellence*. The distinction generally made between the Barai and the Tamboli is that the former grows the plant, while the latter sells the leaves. But this distinction does not seem to be always observed. It would seem that the Barai hardly ever sells the leaves, while the Tamboli sometimes cultivates the plant. Mr. Sherring denies that the distinction prevails in Benares, and says that there the Tamboli sells betelnut as well as *pân*, and appears to be more of a wholesale dealer than the Barai.[2] The Barais are replaced in the Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand Divisions by the Tambolis.

[1] *Hindu Tribes*, I., 296.

[2] *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 330 ; and see Hoey, *Monograph on Trades and Manufactures*, 188.

Traditions of origin.

2. In the eastern part of the Province they have a curious legend to explain their origin:—"There were two Brâhman brothers so devout that after bathing they used to throw their loin cloths up to the skies, where they dried and came down when they were wanted. One day the brothers were in the forest and were athirst. The elder brother directed the younger to climb a *mahua* tree and see if there was any water in the cavities of the trunk. He did so and found water, which in his greediness he drank, and, lying to his elder brother, denied that there was any water in the tree. Next day they threw their loin cloths up to the sky as usual, and when they wanted them only that of the elder brother came down. So he knew that his brother had lied unto him. The younger brother denied the charge. Then Parameswar came down from heaven, and, convicting the younger brother of falsehood, ordered that the elder brother should remain a Brâhman, while the younger should tend the *nág bel* or *pân* plant, which he formed out of the sacred thread of the offender, and that the elder brother should serve the younger brother as his priest." Another story is that Brahma created them to save Brâhmans from the labour of growing the plant. Traditionally the Tâmbûlika or seller of betel is descended from a Sûdra woman by a Vaisya man. The caste is probably occupational and of mixed origin. In Gorakhpur they say that once a Brâhman had three sons. He came down with them from fairy land and was able to support them only by growing betel, for which he was excommunicated. They explain the name of the caste as derived from *baraitha*, the betel-conservatory, which comes from the Sanskrit *vriti*. The Gorakhpur branch fix on Bîrbhânpur, in the Azamgarh District, as their head-quarters.

Internal structure.

3. In the last Census returns the Barais were recorded in no less than one hundred and forty-seven sub-castes. Of these a large number are local, such as the Aharwâr of Ahâr, the Ajudhyabâsi of Ajudhya, the Audha of Awadh, the Bindrabanbâsi of Bindraban, the Chaurasiya of Chaurâsi, in Mirzapur, the Dakkhinâha or "Southern," the Gorakhpuri, Jaiswâr, Jaunpuri, Kânhpuriya, of Cawnpur, Maholiya, Pachhwâhân or "Western"; Sarjupâri or "residents beyond the river Sarju," Sribâstab of Srâvasti; and Uttarâha or "Northern." Many, again, are connected by origin or function with other tribes, as the Banya, Banjariya, Baiswâr, Chauhân, Donwâr, Gaderiya,

Gahlot, Gauriya, Gondar, Jâdubansi, Katheriya, Karwâra, Kokâs, Maharwa, Nâgbansi, Nânakshâhi, Ummar, Pansariya, Panwariya, Râjbansi, Rauteli, Sândil, Shuklabans. This will give some idea of the diverse elements out of which the caste has been composed.

4. In Mirzapur they name seven endogamous sub-castes, Partâbgarhi (from Partâbgarh), Chaurâsi (the Chaurasiya of Benares)[1], Jaiswâr or Jaiswâra Nâsarkhâni (the Nâsalkâni of Benares), Tâmboli, Uttarâha ("Northern"), Pachhiwâha ("Western"). Mr. Sherring adds Sribâstava (from Srâvasti), Bherihâra ("tenders of sheep"), Magahiya (from Magadha), Phuihâra, and Dhanwariya. Of these three, the Magahiya, Chaurasiya, and Jaiswâr appear in Behâr, where there are two others, Semariya and Sokhwa. In the Central Duâb they are divided into the Chaurasiya, who prepare betel, and the Katyâr, who sell it. In Gorakhpur we have the Kanaujiya, Chaurasiya, and Jaiswâr.

Marriage rules.

5. Marriage within the endogamous sub-castes is regulated by a rule of exogamy, which forbids marriage in the family of the paternal and maternal uncle and paternal and maternal aunt as long as there is any recollection of relationship, which is usually after five or six generations. But at the same time they usually marry locally in the families of those with whom they are accustomed to eat and smoke. In Mirzapur the Partâbgarhi are distinguished from the Chaurâsi, inasmuch that the former permit the use of spirits while the latter prohibit it. They marry their daughters at the age of eight or nine, and their sons at twelve or thirteen. A man cannot take a second wife unless he proves to the satisfaction of the tribal council that the first wife is barren, disobedient, extravagant, or a thief, and even then he has to pay a fine to the council, which is spent in a tribal feast. They seldom take more than two wives. They have the usual forms of marriage,—*Charhauwa* for the well-to-do, *Dola* for poor people, and *Sagdi* for widows. In both the regular forms of virgin marriage the binding portions of the ceremony are the worshipping of the bridegroom's feet (*pair pûja, pânw pûja*) by the father of the bride, and marking of the parting of the bride's hair with red lead (*sindurdan*). In *Sagdi* the only ceremony is dressing the bride in a suit of clothes and ornaments provided by the bride-

[1] Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I, 330. Buchanan says that the Chaurâsis take their name from Tappa Chaurâs in Mirzapur, *Eastern India*, II, 470.

groom, and the feeding of his relations and clansmen. Intertribal infidelity is lightly regarded and is condoned by a tribal feast, but fornication with an outsider involves excommunication. They have the extraordinary rule that a woman who poisons her husband is excommunicated. If a man, in spite of the admonition and punishment administered by the tribal council, refuses to support his wife or loses caste, the council permit the woman to leave her husband, and, if she so pleases, to marry again by the *Sagâi* form.

Religion.

6. They are seldom initiated into any special sect. Like all Hindus of the same class, when the men get old they undergo a process of initiation and become devotees (*bhagat*: Sanskrit, *bhakta*). The only effect of this is that they abstain from meat and fish, and attend more carefully to their religious duties, such as attending temples, ceremonial bathing, etc. To the east of the Province their special deities are Mahâbir, the Pânchonpîr, Bhawâni, Hardiha Deva, or Hardaur, Sokha Bâba and Nâgbeli. Sokha Bâba is the special deity of the Nâsarkhâni sub-caste, and, if neglected, ruins their *pân* gardens. They can tell nothing about him. He seems to be a deified exorciser or magician, *sokha* (Sanskrit: *sukshma*, "acute, subtle") being the equivalent of Ojha. Nâgbel or Nâgarbel is the special deity of the *pân* plant. Hardiha is the special deity of the Barais of South Mirzapur. Mahâbir receives an offering of sweetened bread (*rota*), gram, Brâhmanical threads (*janeo*), and loin cloths. His holy day is Tuesday. The Pânchonpîr receive rice cooked in milk (*jawar*), and fried cakes (*puri*), which are offered on Wednesday. Bhawâni is honoured with the sacrifice of a he-goat or ram, and sweets and cakes (*halwa-puri*). Hardiha is worshipped in secret inside the house on Monday. On Wednesday they fast in honour of the Pânchonpîr. Sokha Bâba is said to have a temple in Magadha (Behâr). His offering consists of sweets and cakes (*halwa-puri*). These deities are worshipped only by that member of the family who is under the influence of the special divinity—a fact shown by his getting into a state of ecstasy and uttering oracles. Only those who cultivate *pân* worship Nâgbel by lighting a lamp in the conservatory and making a burnt-offering (*hom*). The special day for the Nâgbel worship is the fifth of the first half of Sâwan. The greater gods are worshipped through Tiwâri Brâhmans, and the minor deities by

some specially inspired member of the family. They cremate their dead in the ordinary way, and some go to Gaya to perform the *srâddha* ceremony.

Occupation.

7. Betel is the term applied to the leaf of the *piper betel* chewed with the areca nut, which is hence improperly called betel-nut. The word, according to the authorities is Malayâlam, *vettila, i.e., veru* + *ila* = "simple or mere leaf," and comes to us through the Portuguese *betre* and *betle*.[1] Areca is the seed, or, in common parlance, the nut, of the palm *areca catechu*. The word is Malayâlam, *addakka*, and comes to us through the Portuguese.[2] There are various methods of preparing the compound known as *pân supâri*. "Garcias da Horta says distinctly:—'In chewing betre they mix areca with it and a little lime; some add licio (*i.e.*, catechu); but the rich and grandees add some Borneo camphor, and also some lign aloes, musk, and ambergris.'"[3] Abul Fazl says:—"They also put some betel-nut and *kath* (catechu) on one leaf and some lime paste on another and roll them up: this is called a *berah* (*bîra*). Some put camphor and musk into it, and tie up both leaves with a silk thread."[4] This is very much the modern practice, except that the two leaves are very generally fastened together with a clove. The conservatory in which the *pân* is grown is treated with great reverence by the grower.[5] They do not allow women to enter it, and permit no one to touch the plant or throw the leaves into fire. Very often they are given rent-free holdings by rich landlords to tempt them to settle in their neighbourhood. The women have an indifferent reputation, as they manage shops, and those who are attractive secure the most custom. They eat *pakki* cooked by all Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, except Kalwârs. In Gorakhpur, it is said, they eat *pakki* only from the hands of Brâhmans and Kshatriyas. They eat *kachchi* only if cooked by members of their own caste. Ghatiya Brâhmans and Râjputs eat *pakki* cooked by them. The highest caste which will eat *kachchi* cooked by them is the Nâi. They eat mutton and goat's flesh, and some indulge in spirituous liquors.

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[1] Yule and Burnell, *Hobson Jobson*, 67.

[2] *Ibid*, 25.

[3] Quoted by Yule, *Marco Polo*, II., 311.

[4] Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 75.

[5] For a good account of the system of cultivating the plant, see Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 864.

Distribution of the Barais according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Sub-Castes.			Total.
	Chaurasiya.	Jaiswâr.	Others.	
Mathura	...	...	327	327
Fatehpur	142	...	32	174
Bânda	379	...	22	401
Hamîrpur	1,088	...	142	1,230
Allahâbâd	6,768	16	922	7,706
Jhânsi	163	...	193	356
Lalitpur	970	...	298	1,268
Benares	2,608	62	245	2,915
Mirzapur	4,329	11	25	4,365
Jaunpur	5,734	927	225	6,886
Ghâzipur	5,580	32	643	6,255
Ballia	5,512	426	461	6,399
Gorakhpur	12,856	9,884	6,258	28,998
Basti	...	26,859	1,054	27,913
Azamgarh	...	8,760	1,977	10,737
Lucknow	95	...	163	258
Unâo	579	...	...	579
Sîtapur	780	...	461	1,241
Hardoi	5,177	...	253	5,430
Kheri	462	...	216	678
Faizâbâd	80	10,612	122	10,814
Gonda	7	16,594	23	16,624
Bahrâich	...	21	1,045	1,066
Sultânpur	2,800	1,478	478	4,756
Partâbgarh	5,746	6	190	5,942
Bârabanki	...	103	...	103
Total .	61,855	75,791	15,775	153,421

Barânwal, Baranwâr.—A sub-caste of Banyas who take their name from the old town of Baran, the modern Bulandshahr. They are principally found in the Rohilkhand, Benares, and Gorakhpur Divisions. Curiously enough they have entirely avoided Bulandshahr, their old home. As illustrating the domestic customs of Banyas the following account from Mirzapur may be given:—

Birth customs.

2. When a woman is in the eighth month of pregnancy the Athmâsa ceremony is performed. Two or three days before it commences the women sing songs. On the day of the ceremony the Pandit makes a square in the courtyard, in which the husband and his wife are seated with their clothes knotted together. The Pandit makes them worship Gauri and Ganesa, and sweetmeats are sent to the houses of the clansmen. In the evening a feast is given to the clansmen. When the child is born, what is called the *Nandi mukh srâddha* is performed, and then the Chamârin midwife is called in to cut the navel cord. She attends the mother only on the first day. Then follow the usual sixth and twelfth day ceremonies (*chhathi, barahi*), when the mother bathes, the house is purified, and she returns to her household duties. When the child is one or three years old comes the shaving (*mûnran*). All the women of the family and their friends go to the temple of some goddess and worship her; then they worship the barber's razor, and offer a rupee to it, which is the perquisite of the barber. Then he shaves the boy's head, and the mother receives the hair on a cake made of unbaked dough. But more generally this is done by the sister or father's sister of the boy. The boy and his mother then put on yellow garments and return home. A feast is given, and some small sums distributed to Brâhmans. In some families the ceremony of ear-boring (*kanchhedan*) is done at the same time as the *mûnran*; sometimes it is deferred till the boy is five years old. The boring is done by a Sunâr, and the friends are entertained. When the boy is six months old the *anna-prâsana* ceremony is performed. The mother cooks some rice milk (*khîr*), and the eldest member of the family puts some of it on a rupee and makes the child lick it. The function ends with the distribution of betel and cardamoms among the guests.

Occupation.

3. The Baranwâls are bâzâr traders of the ordinary type, and deal in grain and various kinds of merchandise.

Distribution of the Baranwâl Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Agra	26	Ghâzipur	1,337
Etah	28	Gorakhpur . . .	466
Budâun	439	Basti	1,899
Morâdabâd . . .	1,825	Azamgarh	5,206
Cawnpur	80	Râê Bareli . . .	46
Bânda	1	Faizâbâd	173
Benares	776	Partâbgarh . . .	131
Mirzapur	590		
Jaunpur	2,140	Grand Total .	15,144

Bargâh, Bargâha, Bargâhi.—(Probably connected with Bâri, q.v.)—A caste of personal servants and makers of leaf platters (*dauna*). To the east of the province they trace their origin to Kanauj, and say that they emigrated with the Gaharwâr Râjputs. Their women act as wet-nurses to the Gaharwârs, and their men pass round betel at entertainments, and do other kinds of higher domestic service. They claim kinship with the Guâl Ahîrs. Thus, in Gorakhpur, Dr. Buchanan[1] says :—"The Râjput chiefs have certain families of the Ahîrs, the women of which serve as wet-nurses to their children, and the men attend to their persons. These families are called Bargâha; have received, of course, great favours, and several of them are very rich; but others look down upon them as having admitted their women to too great familiarity with their chiefs."

2. They marry in their own tribe; but they have no sections, and their rule of exogamy is not to marry in a family with which they have been once connected in marriage as long as any recollection of relationship exists. The marriage customs are of the usual type. In Mirzapur they practise adult marriage. The ceremony occupies three days — the *sil*, *main*, and *bârât*. On the day of the *sil* the grindstone and rice pounder (*sil batta*) are placed in the courtyard, and a Brâhman worships Gauri. The clansmen are fed on rice and pulse. On the *main* day the *mâtri pûja* and worship of

[1] *Eastern India*, II., 467.

deceased ancestors is performed, and a second feast is given. On the third day, the *bârât*, the procession, goes to the house of the bride. The pair are seated in a shed (*mânro*); the bride's father worships the feet of the bridegroom and presents him with fruits, etc., the garments of the pair are knotted, and they revolve seven times round the shed. The bride's father then marks the forehead of the bridegroom with turmeric and rice, and takes him and the bride into the retiring room (*kohabar*), a relic of the custom of immediately consummating the marriage. There the women of the family make the bridegroom join the lights of two lighted wicks as a sign of lasting affection between the pair. The girl is then sent off at once with her husband. They do not allow widow marriage or the levirate. Their death customs are of the usual orthodox type.

3. The Bargâhs are all Hindus, and appear chiefly to worship Mâlâbir, the Pânchonpîr and the Dih, or the collective body of the village godlings.

4. They live principally by domestic service, and are known to be courageous and faithful. Many of them take to agriculture. In Chota Nâgpur, according to Mr. Risley,[1] they claim to be Râjputs and act as domestic servants to the local Râjas.

Distribution of the Bargâhs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Hamirpur	392
Mirzapur	383
Basti	243
Total .	918

Bargaiyân.—A sept of Râjputs who are found principally in the Ghâzipur district. There they claim to be of the Chauhân family, and to be emigrants from Mainpuri. The name is probably derived from some place called Baragâon, or "the great village." They have a very absurd folk etymology, and say that they are so called because their ancestors performed some great exploit (*bara kâm kiya*). They are now poor and discontented.[2]

[1] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 65.
[2] Oldham, *Memo.* I., 65.

Distribution of Bargaiyân Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Benares	2	Faizâbâd	76
Ghâzipur	2,659	Sultânpur	10
Ballia	250	Partâbgarh . . .	4
Râê Bareli . . .	123		
		Total .	3,154

Bargala.—A sept of Râjputs found chiefly in the Bulandshahr[1] District. They are a spurious branch of the Lunar race and are ranked as Gaurua, because they practise widow marriage. They claim descent from two brothers, Drigpâl and Battipâl, who are said to have been emigrants from Indor, in Mâlwa, and commanded the royal force at Delhi in the attack on Râo Pithaura. A number were converted to Islâm in the time of Aurangzeb. They are a turbulent, disorderly sept, and lost most of their villages in the Mutiny.

2. In the Upper Duâb, they are reported to give brides to the Bhâlê Sultân, Jaiswâr, and Bâchhal, and to take wives from the Jaiswâr.

Distribution of the Bargala Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District	Number.
Sahâranpur	2
Muzaffarnagar	2
Bulandshahr	8,250
Morâdâbâd	6
Total .	8,260

Bargi.—A tribe found only in Mathura, according to the last Census, where they numbered 1,076. They are said to live by service, cultivation, and hunting. They are probably, if not identical, closely connected with the Bâri and Bargâh.

[1] Râja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 165.

Bargûjar.—(Sanskrit, *vriddha*; Hindi, *bara*, "great.")—An important sept of Râjputs classed as one of the thirty-six royal races, and descended, like their opponents, the Kachhwâhas, from Râma, but through Lava, the second son. Sir H. M. Elliot[1] writes':—"Colonel Tod says that it was in Anûpshahr that the Bargûjars, on their expulsion by the Kachhwâhas from Rajor, found refuge; and that is still the chief town of the Bargûjar family. But as this expulsion occurred only in the time of the illustrious Siwâi Jay Sinh, in the beginning of the last century, the chief of Rajor must have chosen for his residence a part of the country already in the occupation of his brethren; for Bargûjars are mentioned, even in Akbar's time, as the Zamindârs of Khurja, Dibâi, and Pahâsu. Their own assertion is that they came from Rajor, the capital of Deoti, in the Macheri country, under Râja Pratâp Sinh, and first resided in Kheriya, near Pitampur, and that the Râja, after marrying at Koil into a Râjput family of the Dor tribe, which at that time occupied the whole country between Koil and Bulandshahr, obtained favour in the sight of the Dors and got authority to establish himself as far eastward as he chose. Having, in consequence, exterminated the Mewâtis and Bhihars, who are represented to have been in previous occupation, he was so successful as to acquire the possession of sixteen hundred villages, eight hundred on the east and eight hundred on the west of the Ganges. At the time of his death Chaundera, near Pahâsu (in the Bulandshahr District), was reckoned the chief possession of the Bargûjars, and one of the descendants of Pratâp Sinh, Raja Sâlivâhana, gave his name to a Pargana, which comprised the present divisions of Pitampur, Pahâsu, and Birauli. Râja Pratâp Sinh left two sons, Jatu and Rânu. Jatu took up his abode in Katehar or Rohilkhand, and Rânu remained as chief of Chaundera.

2. "The antiquity of the Katehar Bargûjars may be surmised from a passage in the Râthaur Genealogies:—

'Bharat, the eleventh grandson of Nain Pâl, the Râthaur, at the age of sixty-one conquered Kanaksir, under the Northern Hills, from Rudra Sen, of the Bargûjar tribe.' Nain Pâl is supposed to have lived in the fifth Century. Though there appears no reason for ascribing to his reign so early a date, he must, at any rate, have preceded the final Muhammadan conquest of Kanauj.

[1] *Supplementary Glossary, s.v.; Aligarh Settlement Report*, 22; Râja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 155, *sqq.*

3. "While the Katehar Bargûjars and the Anûpshahr family have preserved their ancient faith, nearly all the Duâb tribes which preceded the expulsion of their chief from Rajor have turned Muhammadans; and the early opponents of the British in Kamona and Pindrâwal were Bargûjars of that persuasion. They still, however, appear proud of their Râjput lineage; for they assume the appellation of Thâkur. Thus we hear the strange combination of Thâkur Akbar' Ali Khan and Thâkur Mardan' Ali Khân.' At their marriages they paint on their doors the image of a Kahârin or female bearer, under whose instructions they executed a stratagem by which they exterminated the Mewâtis, who had been engaged in a drunken revel during the Holi. Some of the Musalmân families have of late discontinued this custom. The Bargûjars to the west of Muzaffarnagar were all converted to the Muhammadan faith in the time of Alâ-ud-dîn Khilji; but they still retain most of their old Hindu customs. A stricter conformity to the Musalmân tenets was endeavoured to be introduced by some reformers, and all Hindu observances were sedulously proscribed by them; but when it was found, as they themselves assert, that all their children became blind and maimed in consequence of their apostacy, they were induced to revert to their ancestral customs, and still adhere to them with so much pertinacity, that it is almost doubtful which faith prevails most.

4. "The Muzaffarnagar Bargûjars state that they came from Dobandesar, near Dhain Dawâsa, south of the Alwar country, under one Kura Sen, whose ancestor, Bâba Megha, is still invoked when they make their offerings at the time of naming their children. They intermarry with the converted Pundîr Râjputs of Sakrauda in Sahâranpur, and the Râo Bargûjars, in Farîdâbâd, of Balabhgarh, to the south of Delhi. They seem to know but little of their brethren who reside in the neighbourhood of Anûpshahr.

5. "The place whence they migrated may be easily traced, for Dawâsa or Deosa lies on the Bânganga river about thirty miles east of Jeypur, and Dhain is about eight miles south of Deosa. Deosa is famous as being the first place belonging to the Bargûjars, which was occupied by the Kachhwâhas, after their emigration from Narwar, in the middle of the tenth Century. It is not improbable that the Kachhwâhas may at this period have compelled the Bargûjars to emigrate in search of other seats, and they, in turn, may have wreaked their vengeance on the Kachhwâhas of the

Upper Duâb, and established their Chaurâsi among the brethren of their distant foe. Certain it is that tradition assigns a large tract of country in these parts to the Kachhwâhas before the Bargûjars, Jâts, and Pathâns obtained possession.

6. "The Sikarwâl Râjputs state that they are a branch of the Bargûjars; but they are separately entered among the thirty-six royal races in Colonel Tod's list. It is to be observed, however, that in some of the other lists which he has given neither Bargûjars nor Sikarwâls are entered."

7. In Mathura[1] the Hindu branch are classed as pure because they do not practise widow marriage. The Rohilkhand[2] branch have various traditions of their origin, some claiming Tomar and some Sûrajbansi descent. They seem to have pushed across the Ganges from Anûpshahr about the same time that the Katehriyas occupied Bareilly.

8. In Bulandshahr they give brides to the Gahlot, Bhatti, Tomar, Chauhân, Katiyâr, Punwâr, and Pundîr; and take wives from the Gahlot, Pundîr, Chauhân, Bais, Janghâra, and Bâchhal. In Aligarh they take brides from the Janghâra, Gahlot, and Chauhân, and give wives to the Chauhân and Gahlot.

Distribution of Bârgûjar Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	9	9
Sahâranpur	55	64	119
Muzaffarnagar	166	1,092	1,258
Meerut	1,443	...	1,443
Bulandshahr	12,064	4,006	16,070
Aligarh	3,363	9	3,372
Mathura	383	140	523
Agra	588	9	597

[1] *Settlement Report*, 34, *sqq*.
[2] *Moradabad Settlement Report*, 14.

Distribution of Bargûjar Rájputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Farrukhâbâd	227	6	233
Mainpuri	556	1	557
Etâwah	90	3	93
Etah	1,689	106	1,795
Bareilly	883	321	1,204
Bijnor	4	...	4
Budâun	2,790	363	3,153
Morâdâbâd	6,477	156	6,633
Shâhjahânpur	171	...	171
Pilibhît	78	40	118
Cawnpur	19	...	19
Jhânsi	26	...	26
Jâlaun	68	...	68
Lalitpur	24	...	24
Benares	2	...	2
Jaunpur	8	...	8
Tarâi	59	...	59
Lucknow	6	...	6
Faizâbâd	...	3	3
Kheri	102	...	102
Total .	31,341	6,328	37,669

Barhai,[1] **Barhi, Badhi.**—(Sanskrit, *vardhika*; root *vardh*, "to cut.")—The carpenter class, also known as Tarkhân in the Panjab, Mistri (which is probably a corruption of the English "Master, Mr."), and Lakarkata or "wood-cutter" (*lakri-kâtna*). The term

[1] Based on enquiries made at Mirzapur, and notes by the Deputy Inspectors of Schools at Bareilly, Basti, Bijnor.

Gokain is generally applied to a wood carver: it is derived by Mr. Nesfield from the Hindi *khonchna*, "to scoop out," but is more possibly connected with *gaukh*, Sanskrit, *gavâksha*, "a window frame." Traditionally they claim descent from Viswakarma, son of Brahma (who is identified with Twashtri, the divine artisan), through Vikramajît, who is said to have espoused a Kshatriya woman. As the sub-divisions show, the caste is probably a functional group recruited from various castes following the common occupation of carpentry.

Internal structure.

2. The Barhais have broken up into an enormous number of endogamous sub-castes, of which the last Census returns enumerate eight hundred and fifty-nine in the Hindu and seventy-nine in the Muhammadan branch. Of these locally the most important are in Sahâranpur, the Bandariya, Dholi, Multâni, Nagar, and Tarloiya; in Muzaffarnagar, the Dhalwâl or "shield-makers," and Lota; in Meerut, the Janghâra, the name of a Râjput sept; in Bulandshahr, the Bhîl; in Aligarh, the Chauhân; in Mathura, the Bâhman or Brâhman subcaste, and the Sosaniya; in Agra, the Nagar, Janghâra, and Uprautya; in Farrukhâbâd, the Paretiya or "reel-makers"; in Mainpuri, the Umariya; in Etah, the Agwariya, Barmaniyân, Bisari, Jalesariya (from the town of Jalesar), and the Usarbhola; in Bareilly, the Jalesariya; in Ballia, the Gokalbansi; in Basti, the Dakkhinâha or "Southern," and the Sarwariya, or those who come from beyond the Sarju river; in Gonda, the Kairâti, which is possibly a corruption of Kharâdi, and the Sondi; in Bârabanki, the Jaiswâr. In Mirzapur they name five,—Kokâsbansi, Magadhiya, or Magahiya (from Magadha), Purbiha or Purbiya (Eastern), Uttarâha (Northern), and Khâti (Sanskrit *Kshatri*; root, *kshad*, "to cut"). Of these the Khâti specially work as wheel-wrights. In Bareilly we have Mathuriya, Dhanman, and Khâti; in Bijnor, Dahman, Mathuriya, Lahori, and Kokâs; in Basti, Kokâsbans, and Lohâr Barhai. Another enumeration[1] gives Kokâs, Mahur, Tânk, Khâti, Uprautiya, Bâmhan Barhai or Mathuriya, Ojha Gaur, and Chamar Barhai. Of these the Bâmhan and Ojha Gaur claim a Brâhmanical origin, and the Chamar Barhai are perhaps an offshoot from the Chamârs. In Benares,[2] again, we have the Janeûdhâri,

[1] Sir H. M. Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, s. v.
[2] Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 316.

(wearers of the Brâhmanical cord, *janeó*), who eat no meat, wear the sacred cord, and regard themselves far superior to the others: they are said to come from the Duâb. The Khâti are wheel-wrights. The Kokâs come from Delhi, and make chairs and tables. Those designated Setbanda Rameswar manufacture puppets and dolls, on which they perform in public: they have a character for begging, and are, therefore, not a reputable branch of the caste. In the Hills some Barhais are emigrants from the plains; but most of them are of the Orh division of the Doms.[1] To the west of the Province, the Ojha or Ujhâdon Barhais claim Brâhmanical descent, and wear the Brâhmanical cord. In some of the Western towns they have recently refused to do such degrading work as the repairs of conservancy carts, etc. In Morâdâbâd there is a sub-caste known as Khâti Bishnoi, who make a speciality of making cart-wheels like those of the same name to the east of the Province: in Bulandshahr the Khâti are said to be considered so low that water touched by them is not drunk by the higher castes.[2] In the same district are also found the Tânk, Ukât, and Dibhân, as well as the Jânghra, who claim kindred with the Janghâra Râjputs. In the Central Duâb, again, we have, besides the Ujhâdon Brâhman sub-caste, three others known as Dhîmar, Mâhar, and Khâti. These names illustrate the composite character of the caste, the Ojha claiming to be Brâhmans, the Janghra Râjputs, the Dhîmar Kahârs, the Chamar Barhai, Chamârs, and so on. Akin again to these are the class of turners—Kharâdi (Arabic, *kharâṭ*, "a lathe"), Kuner, Kundera, and, in the Hills, Chunyâra. In Mirzapur this sub-caste are occupied in making the stems of the *huqqa* pipe out of the wood of the acacia (*khair*). They appear to take their name from Sanskrit *kunda*, a bowl.

Marriage rules.

3. To the east of the Province Barhais marry their daughters usually at the age of seven, nine, or eleven; and boys, at nine, eleven, and thirteen. They will not intermarry with a member of their own family or that of their maternal uncle or father's sister as long as there is any recollection of relationship. They have four forms of marriage: *Charhauwa*, which is the respectable form; *Dola*, for poor people, *Adala Badala*, when two families exchange brides, and *Sagâi*, for widows.

[1] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III., 279.
[2] Râja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 186.

The levirate is permitted but not enforced, and the widow's right of selecting her second partner is recognised. The rules of morality are strict, and a woman intriguing with a clansman or a stranger is liable to excommunication. Those who are guilty of an intrigue with a member of the clan can be restored to caste by paying money to Brâhmans, and bathing in a sacred stream: in bad cases a pilgrimage to Prayâg (Allahâbâd), Benares, or Ajudhya, is necessary. When a woman is expelled for an intrigue with a clansman, and conducts herself respectably for some time, she is re-admitted to caste by the council, and allowed to contract a *sagâi* marriage.

Religion.

4. Barhais who live in cities are usually Saivas, because they are not prohibited from the use of meat and wine. The village Barhais seldom become initiated into any regular sect. Their clan deities in the Eastern Districts are the Pânchonpîr, Mahâbîr, Devi, Dulha Deo, and a deity of rather uncertain functions, known as Bibiha Deva, or the "lady god." They also worship Viswakarma, their divine ancestor, and he is represented by the wooden yard measure (*gaz*, *gaj*). This has a special worship in the month of Sâwan. A square is made in which it is placed, and to it are offered sandalwood, flowers, red lead (*rori*), and sweetmeats (*halwa*). This worship is supported by a general contribution. The worship is done by a Brâhman, and the sweets distributed among the worshippers. In the month of Kuâr, the other tribal deities are worshipped. Sweetmeats (*halwa*), sweet bread, gram, and some sugar balls (*laddu*) are offered to Mahâbîr on a Tuesday. Bhawâni or Devi receives the sacrifice of a goat or ram, garlands of flowers, and coloured cloth (*chunari*). Rice milk (*khîr*), and cakes (*pûri*) are dedicated to the Pânchonpîr. Only wives married in the regular (*charhawa*) form are allowed to share in the worship of the tribal deities. In Basti they worship Mahâbîr, Purabi Deota or "the Eastern godling," and Phûlmati Bhawâni. Purabi Deota gets an offering of clothes and rude ornaments on a Saturday: Phûlmati and Mahâbîr get, respectively, sweets and flowers on Monday and Tuesday. Mâlis, Gusâins, and Brâhmans receive the offerings made to Mahâbîr and Phûlmati, while the offerings to Purabi Deota are taken home and consumed by the worshippers themselves. Their priests are Tiwâri Brâhmans, who hold a low rank in the caste. The dead are cremated, and the ashes thrown into the Ganges or one of its tributaries. Water is poured on the ground in honour of

the sainted dead during the first fortnight of Kuâr: lumps of rice and milk are offered on the thirteenth day, and uncooked grain is given to Brâhmans. Those who die of cholera or small-pox are either buried or their bodies thrown into running water. When the epidemic is over, they, as well as a person dying in a foreign land, are burnt in effigy in the regular way. This must be done within six months after the death.

Occupation and social status.

5. Carpentry is one of the ancient Hindu trades, and is mentioned in the Rigveda.[1] The village carpenter is one of the recognised village menials and receives dues of grain at each harvest from his constituents (*jajmân*), whose agricultural implements he is bound to keep in order. The rate in Oudh is thirty village *sers* at each crop from each plough. This is known as *tihâi*. He also receives one *ser* of each kind of grain from each cultivator's threshing floor before it is removed. This is called *anjali*. For seven months, Jeth to Aghan—May to November, his services are required. For the remaining five months he works at his own business, making cots (*chârpai*), carts (*gâri*), domestic utensils, and house carpentry. For this he receives special wages.[2] In the Eastern Districts it is about twelve *sers* per plough. In Bareilly it is seven-and-a-half to twelve large (*pakka*) *sers* per plough per harvest.[3] Some city carpenters who set up workshops and employ workmen do a good business in making conveyances, furniture, etc. They eat *pakki* or food cooked with butter by all Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, except Kalwârs. They eat *kachchi* cooked by Brâhmans and castemen. All Hindus drink water from their hands. Some Brâhmans will eat *pakki* cooked by them. Inferior Hindus, such as the Chamâr, Nâi, or Bâri, will eat *kachchi* cooked by them. In the villages many hold land as tenants in addition to their hereditary trade.

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[1] Prof. H. H. Wilson, *Rig Veda, Intro., DLI.*
[2] Hoey, *Monograph on Trade and Manufactures*, 68.
[3] *Settlement Report*, 79.

Distribution of the Barhais according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Ajudhyabási.	Dhaman.	Gaur.	Golá.	Kanaujiya.	Khátí.	Kokás.	Maithil.	Mathuriya.	Ojha.	Suthar.	Tánk.	Others.	Muhammadans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dún . . .	...	1,243	...	...	...	130	65	...	...	...	...	...	2,004	65	3,507
Sahâranpur . . .	...	12,367	...	7	...	198	14	6	...	...	...	...	4,641	1,538	18,771
Muzaffarnagar . . .	...	6,954	21	10	10	2,333	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,082	3,162	14,572
Meerut	...	446	...	...	...	2,719	...	...	...	...	...	3,212	4,059	13,242	23,678
Bulandshahr . . .	...	...	...	...	...	164	...	...	421	351	...	628	4,824	11,473	17,861
Aligarh	...	...	...	...	...	159	...	2,864	...	3,782	...	...	12,794	7	19,606
Mathura	...	...	1,078	4	...	...	50	2,219	2,855	4,776	...	...	3,017	3	14,002
Agra	106	...	1,638	...	...	4	8	498	2,189	10,957	...	...	3,679	7	19,086
Farrukhábád . . .	136	...	...	...	35	10	2,874	...	4,580	240	...	...	263	2	8,140

Distribution of the Barhais according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Ajudhyabási.	Dhaman.	Gaur.	Golá.	Kanaujiya.	Khátí.	Kokás.	Maithil.	Mathuriya.	Ojha.	Suthar.	Tánk.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Mainpuri	904	...	107	509	...	4	342	56	1,072	10,474	...	...	1,395	...	14,857
Etáwah	1,109	...	...	...	...	154	948	...	2,423	3,430	6	...	2,271	...	10,340
Etah	...	73	380	295	4	20	55	372	8,590	1,268	31	...	3,647	...	14,735
Bareilly	...	...	...	...	...	82	1,502	...	17,284	48	...	...	691	1,999	21,606
Bijnor	...	14,496	...	...	...	75	...	...	...	...	...	8	624	2,746	17,949
Budáun	...	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	13,820	703	...	...	2,114	1,005	17,670
Moráddbád	...	1,133	...	...	...	213	...	1	1,809	45	...	424	1,578	17,305	22,508
Shábjahánpur . . .	58	3	8	...	12	...	1,107	...	4,677	32	...	...	334	34	16,228
Pilibhít	...	...	2	...	...	110	3,754	...	6,011	9	...	20	282	176	10,364
Cawnpur	...	...	...	...	12	51	9,104	...	83	5	...	...	760	...	10,015

Fatehpur	...	...	...	...	11	...	2,920	...	...	...	...	...	367	...	3,298
Bânda	...	...	...	48	...	20	6,174	...	...	...	...	...	616	...	6,860
Hamirpur	...	...	3	...	...	29	3,366	...	...	...	...	...	1,393	...	4,791
Allahâbâd	...	...	...	...	...	17	1,237	...	3	...	...	...	566	...	1,823
Jhânsi	...	...	...	...	...	407	3,617	...	...	...	...	...	2,385	2	6,411
Jâlaun	...	...	...	...	...	1,491	1,984	...	...	...	...	...	1,550	...	5,025
Lalitpur	...	...	...	...	...	2,308	2,507	...	...	...	...	...	790	...	5,605
Benares	...	...	...	...	...	...	320	...	...	...	...	...	261	...	581
Mirzapur	...	...	...	...	...	...	352	...	...	...	...	...	224	...	576
Jaunpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,315	...	...	...	...	...	70	...	1,385
Ghâzipur	...	...	...	114	...	...	947	...	...	...	...	...	258	...	1,319
Ballia	...	...	...	83	...	...	3,674	...	...	...	...	...	947	...	4,704
Gorakhpur	11	...	1	...	483	...	23,058	...	...	...	80	...	1,926	748	26,307
Basti	...	...	...	...	...	...	24,277	...	...	...	927	...	3,093	...	28,297
Azamgarh	...	...	...	...	649	...	8,295	...	...	...	...	...	1,625	26	10,595

Distribution of the Barhais according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Ajudhyabási.	Dhaman.	Gaur.	Gold.	Kanaujiya.	Khati.	Kolás.	Maithil.	Mathuriya.	Ojha.	Suthar.	Tank.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Garhwál	...	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32
Tarái	...	434	...	...	...	8	...	...	680	...	...	118	127	2,890	4,257
Lucknow	...	5	...	21	9	80	6,162	...	244	...	378	...	2,175	81	9,155
Unáo	...	...	...	...	20	...	12,335	...	...	...	...	...	842	1	13,198
Ráé Bareli	...	...	...	...	130	...	8,411	...	6	...	1,199	...	1,537	117	11,400
Sítapur	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,823	...	40	...	358	...	973	2	12,196
Hardoi	...	...	...	...	...	...	11,913	...	519	...	26	...	491	...	12,949
Kheri	13	...	...	...	7	...	12,296	...	4	...	...	...	171	...	12,491
Faizábád	...	...	...	...	207	...	10,029	...	...	...	2,659	...	291	...	13,186
Gonda	...	...	...	...	...	...	23,190	...	...	...	5	...	987	2,469	26,651

Bahráich	...	...	...	4	...	3	10,884	...	...	...	108	...	731	618	12,348
Sultánpur	...	...	...	...	69	...	8,268	...	...	...	1,123	...	1,529	...	10,989
Partábgarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	843	...	...	...	...	...	553	1	1,397
Bárabanki	...	...	...	...	...	...	13,825	...	...	...	1,062	...	476	180	15,563
TOTAL .	2,339	37,214	3,232	898	1,855	10,789	242,808	6,016	67,309	36,120	7,982	4,410	78,013	59,899	558,884

Barhiya.—A small sept of Râjputs. The last Census shows them only in Hamîrpur and Lalitpur. Sir H. M. Elliot[1] mentions a sept called Barhiya or Barhaiya in the Sikandarpur and Badâun Parganas of the Azamgarh District, and Sayyidpur Bhitri of Ghâzipur. Dr. Buchanan[2] says that they are not numerous in Gorakhpur, north of the Sarju; "but there are said to be many near Kopa in the southern part of the District. They are but a low race."

Distribution of the Barhiya Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Agra	13
Hamîrpur	28
Lalitpur	22
Total	63

Barholiya, Barhauliya.—A Râjput sept, who are a branch of the Bhrigubansi stock, and the chief proprietors of Barhaul, in Benares, from the principal town of which Pargana they derive their name. They are said to have come from Rengarh, in Mârwâr, and were on their way to Jagannâth, when their chief, Narotham Râê, accepted service with the Seori or Chero Râja.[3] The head of the sept, in Bârabanki, where they are most numerous, is the Râja of Sûrajpur. There they are classed as a branch of the Bais stock.

Distribution of the Barholiya Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Jâlaun	2	Faizâbâd	40
Azamgarh	104	Gonda	23
Lucknow	19	Bahrâich	39
Râê Bareli	199	Bârabanki	2,316
Sîtapur	1	Total	2,742

[1] *Supplementary Glossary, s. v.*
[2] *Eastern India*, II., 463.
[3] Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary, s. v.*

Bâri.[1]—A tribe of household servants to Hindus and makers of the leaf-platters used at Hindu feasts. The name of the caste is derived from the Hindi *bâlna*, or *bârna*, which means "to set a thing alight," as one of their chief occupations is acting as torch-bearers. According to Mr. Nesfield, "they are an off-shoot from the semi-savage tribes known as Banmânush and Musahar. He still associates with them at times, and if the demand for plates and cups (owing to some temporary cause, such as a local fair or an unusual number of marriages) happens to become larger than he can at once supply, he gets them secretly made by his ruder kinsfolk, and retails them at a higher rate, passing them off as his own production." That the origin of the caste is functional is very probable; but there is as yet no satisfactory evidence, such as that based on anthropometry, which would conclusively establish their connection with the jungle races; and if they are ultimately akin to the Musahar, the type must have been very considerably changed. The Bâri, in fact, looks very much like the ordinary Chamâr of the plains, and he has lost in a great measure the distinctive cast of features which characterises the Musahar.

Traditions of origin.

2. In the Eastern Districts the Bâris have a curiously naïve legend to account for their origin. "Once upon a time," so the legend runs, "Parameswar was offering rice milk to the spirits of his ancestors. In the course of this duty the celebrant has to make a gift known as *Vikraya dâna*, which no one cares to accept. Parameswar offered the gift to some Brâhmans, who refused it. Then he made a man of clay, and blowing upon the image invested it with life. Parameswar asked the man whom he had created to accept the offering, and he agreed on condition that all men should drink with him and recognise his claim to caste. Parameswar then told him to bring water in a cup, and drank of it in the presence of all the castes. Ever since Hindus drink water from the hands of the Bâri, though he himself eats the leavings of many castes." They say that this first ancestor of theirs was named Sundar on account of his personal beauty. According to the Oudh legend, when Bhagwân had created the world he took a survey of it and reflected that he had created all manner of men except the menial, who would consume the

[1] Principally based on enquiries made at Mirzapur, and notes by Munshi Chhuttan LÁl, Deputy Collector, Unâo, and Munshi Âtma Râm, Head Master, High School, Mathura.

leavings, which would otherwise be wasted. To remove this defect, he made a man of sand and called him Sundar. The caste derives its name from having been made of sand (*bâlu bâru*), a folk etymology which is probably at the bottom of the story. They say that the descendants of this Sundar lived at Ajodhya until the reign of Râja Dasaratha; after that they dispersed all over the country. The Purânic legend represents them as descended from a barber and a tobacconist girl. In Oudh they fix their head-quarters at Tulasipur, in the Kheri District.

Marriage rules.

3. The Census returns include no less than five hundred and three exogamous sections. Of these the most important locally are the Bilkhariya, who take their name from Bilkhar in Oudh, the Hinduiya and the Kariya in Ballia; the Kanaujiya, in Gorakhpur: the Desi and Sarwariya in Basti; the Dakkhinâha and Sarwariya in Râê Bareli; the Ghorcharha or "riders on horses," and in Gonda and Bahrâich the Chauhân. Besides these, are the Donwâr, which is also the name of a sub-tribe of Bhuînhârs; the Mathuriya from Mathura; the Pattariha or makers of leaf-platters (*pattar*); the Râwat, and Sundar, whose name is that of their founder. To the east the rule of *gotra* exogamy appears to be reinforced by the condition that they do not intermarry with a family with whom previous relationship by marriage is established and admitted. In Mathura persons of the same *gotra* cannot intermarry, and the *gotras* of a man's mother and grandmother are also barred. Marriage with two sisters is permitted. Sexual license before marriage is everywhere prohibited. Polyandry is nowhere recognized; and, while polygamy is allowed, it is restricted to cases when the first wife is barren or permanently disabled by disease. The actual marriage ceremony is of the usual low caste type. In the eastern districts, prior to the marriage, they have what is known as the *panchmangari* or *timangari* performed, as the name implies on the fifth or third day before the wedding, when the women bring clay from the village clay pit and lay it in the nuptial shed (*mâro*), where it is used for making the fireplace on which the food for the wedding feast is cooked. In the respectable form of marriage, called *charhaua*, where the bride is given away by her father, and the pair revolve round the sacred fire; there are in Oudh three stages—*Barrachha* or *Barraksha*, "fixing or holding of the bridegroom," in which the father of the bride gives the boy a rupee as a sort of earnest money; the actual

betrothal known as "the cup" (*katora*), because the friends on both sides drink sharbat together. Then follows what is the binding part of the function—the rubbing of the parting of the bride's hair with red lead, and the walking round the sacred fire.

Widow marriage.

4. From Mathura it is reported that the caste now prohibits widow marriage. This is not the case elsewhere. In the Benares Division widows marry by *sagái*, and the levirate is recognised but not enforced; in Oudh, irregular connections of widows are allowed. It is not called marriage; she is merely said to "take her seat" (*baith jána*) in the house of her paramour. She is not obliged to form such a connection unless she pleases, and the preference is given to the younger brother of the late husband; those widows who set up house with an outsider are known as *Urhari*, a term which seems usually to bear a contemptuous meaning.

Disposal of the dead.

5. The dead are cremated, but only those who are well off are careful about disposing of the ashes in the Ganges or Jumna.

Religion.

6. The Bâris are Hindus. To the east of the Province they are seldom initiated into any recognised sect; if they are initiated they give the preference for the Saiva or Sâkta. They worship various local deities. Thus, in Jaunpur, they worship a form of the female energy known as Bibiha Devi, "Our Lady"; in South Mirzapur, Hardiha Deva or Hardaul Lâla, the cholera godling; and many of them worship Mahâbîr. Sacrifices of rams and goats are offered to Hardiha, with sweetmeats and a Brâhmanical thread (*janeu*). To Mahâbîr is offered a head-dress (*muraith*), a small loin cloth (*langot*), sweet bread (*rot*), and sweetmeats. Those only are allowed to worship Mahâbîr who do not eat the leavings of other people. Another local deity, Birtiya, receives a sacrifice of a young pig, once a year, in the month of Sâwan. The worship of all these clan deities is performed annually in the month of Sâwan (July—August) and Kuâr (September—October). Their family priests are Tiwâri Brâhmans, who are, as a rule, not received on equal terms by their brethren. In Mathura they worship Devi in the months of Chait and Kuâr with an offering of flowers and sweetmeats, the latter being consumed by the worshippers after dedication. They follow the tenets of the Vaishnava sect. In Unâo their clan deities are Bhitarihâi Devi, "the goddess of the inner house," and Nara Sinh or

the man-lion incarnation of Vishnu. These deities are worshipped on the eighth day of the waxing moon in the months of Chait and Kuâr. The offering to Devi consists of the sacrifice of goats and the burning of incense. Nara Sinha prefers the offering of parched barley mixed with treacle. This worship is done by the eldest son of the family. Their priests are Brâhmans, who are received on terms of equality by their brethren.

Occupation.

7. Their primary occupation is the making and sale of leaf-cups (*dauna, pattari, gadaura*) used at Hindu feasts, and in which articles such as sweetmeats, curds, etc., are commonly sold in bâzârs. They serve respectable Hindus as domestic servants and hand round water. They light and carry torches at marriages, entertainments, and on journeys, and perform many of the functions discharged by our house bearers. Their occupation as domestic servants seems to be on the decline, and many are taking to cultivation. Their women act as maids to high caste Hindu ladies, and, as they are always about the zenâna, they bear a somewhat equivocal reputation. To the east of the Province they certainly eat the leavings of Brâhmans, Banyas, Râjputs and, it is said, now-a-days even of Kâyasths. In Mathura they seem to be abandoning the practice of eating the leavings of other castes. In Mirzapur all Hindus drink water touched by them, and all, except Sarwariya and Kanaujiya Brâhmans, eat food cooked by them in the form of *pakki*, *i.e.*, cooked with butter. *Kachchi roti* or food cooked in water by them is eaten by Chamârs and other menial castes. In Unâo, it is said that they will eat *kachchi* and *pakki* from the hands of a barber, but that no high caste Hindu takes anything but water from their hands. In Mathura they will eat *kachchi* cooked by a Banya or Kâyasth. Their loyalty and fidelity to their master is proverbial, and they rank high among the classes of Hindus who devote themselves to domestic service.

Distribution of the Bâris according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Donwâr.	Mathuriya.	Pattariha.	Râwat.	Sundar.	Others.	Total.
Sahâranpur .	...	...	...	...	...	19	19
Meerut . .	...	...	...	...	...	88	88
Bulandshahr .	...	...	...	43	...	61	104
Aligarh . .	...	...	...	51	...	239	290
Mathura . .	...	...	...	10	...	139	149
Agra . .	...	2	...	123	2	828	955
Farrukhâbâd .	7	15	...	119	125	705	971
Mainpuri . .	65	385	3	169	...	309	931
Etâwah . .	1	57	12	152	19	1,773	2,014
Etah . .	30	14	...	42	2	195	283
Bareilly . .	...	...	...	...	...	450	450
Bijnor . .	...	...	...	...	...	43	43
Budâun . .	...	8	...	24	...	269	301
Morâdâbâd .	...	...	...	...	...	224	224
Shâhjahânpur .	2	...	...	35	182	279	498
Pilibhît . .	...	...	...	...	40	122	162
Cawnpur . .	...	12	217	52	22	2,323	2,626
Fatehpur . .	...	...	...	...	83	599	682
Bânda . .	...	...	2	53	1	62	118
Hamîrpur .	...	...	...	28	...	87	115
Allahâbâd .	...	...	26	7	393	1,024	1,450
Jhânsi . .	...	...	...	37	...	84	121
Jâlaun . .	...	...	...	185	2	578	765
Lalitpur . .	...	...	...	4	...	45	49
Benares . .	174	...	10	175	...	1,971	2,330
Mirzapur . .	...	...	...	...	16	1,906	1,922

Distribution of the Bâris according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Donwâr.	Mathuriya.	Pattariha.	Râwat.	Sundar.	Others.	Total.
Jaunpur	351	...	390	673	68	578	2,060
Ghâzipur	214	...	...	73	127	1,577	1,991
Ballia	597	...	...	38	10	1,457	2,102
Gorakhpur	3,280	4	21	...	205	4,454	7,964
Basti	379	...	3,612	...	...	1,615	5,606
Azamgarh	418	...	...	...	59	2,992	3,469
Lucknow	...	...	...	...	918	382	1,300
Unâo	69	2	127	...	374	1,581	2,153
Râê Bareli	...	...	318	24	1,214	1,901	3,457
Sîtapur	...	...	26	...	921	601	1,548
Hardoi	...	...	...	...	211	299	510
Kheri	...	...	...	...	821	211	1,032
Faizâbâd	1,946	...	138	...	...	165	2,249
Gonda	2,574	...	1,635	...	...	2,138	6,347
Bahrâich	338	...	537	...	455	2,297	3,627
Sultânpur	...	...	...	196	263	1,879	2,338
Partâbgarh	...	...	...	...	31	2,182	2,213
Bârabanki	...	...	362	22	471	1,219	2,047
Total	10,445	499	7,436	2,335	7,035	41,950	69,700

Barua, Barwa.—A tribe of mendicant Brâhmans who are found in Sahâranpur and the neighbourhood. They bear an indifferent reputation on account of the vileness of the abuse which they shower on people who refuse to give them alms.

Barwâr.[1]—A notorious criminal tribe found in Northern Oudh. There is much difference of opinion as to the meaning of the word.

[1] Based chiefly on Notes by Mirza Ihfân Ali Beg, Deputy Collector, in charge of the tribe, and a report (date and author not given) entitled "*Etymology (etc) of the Barwârs of Gonda and the Sanaurhiyas of Nagpur.*"

According to one theory it means "a bearer of burdens" (*bár-wála*); according to others it comes from the Hindi *Baryara* in the sense of "violent."

2. The story the Barwârs tell of themselves is as follows:—

Traditional origin.

Some centuries ago the ancestor of the tribe, a Kurmi by caste, lived at the village of Yahyapur, which is said to be situated in the Sâran District, east of the river Nârâyani. One day he was ploughing his field near the river when the wife of a rich Mahâjan came down to bathe. She took off her pearl necklace and stepped into the water. A kite swooped down, and, carrying it off, dropped it in the field where the Kurmi was ploughing. When he saw the treasure he began to think that it was easier to live by thieving than by farming. From that time his prosperity increased, and his clan became known as Suvarna or golden. They began then to be known as Barwâr or men of violence. It happened one day that a Kingariya or Nat musician attended the death ceremony of a Barwâr at Yahyapur, and was given an empty purse as a present by the relatives of the deceased. By chance the Kingariya came to the village where the purse with two gold coins had been stolen. The owner recognized it; and enquiries proving that the theft had been committed by the Barwârs, they were expelled from Yahyapur. After this they divided into two sections. One went to Basti, in the North-Western Provinces, and settled at Barauli, which is four miles west of Basti. The other gang went to Hardoi, in Oudh, and settled there. After their arrival in Hardoi that section were given the name of Gânjar, which is said to mean "hoarders," and by which they are still known. In Barauli the Barwârs lived for some two centuries, and supported themselves by thieving. At last, one day, they robbed the camp of the Râja of Basti, and he had them expelled from his territory. They then came to Gonda and settled at Dhanaipur, thirteen miles north of Gonda. They now occupy fifty-four villages in the Gonda District. They were again at one time forced to change their quarters by the influence of a money-lender named Sobha Sukl, whose name is still held in abhorrence among them. Another legend makes the Barwârs to be the descendants of a woman of low caste named Goli, by a Kurmi father. There seems nothing improbable in the story that they are a branch of the Kurmis, who separated from the parent stock owing to their bad character, or for some other reason. That the tribe is very

much mixed is admitted on all sides. The Barwârs, in former times, were certainly in the habit of recruiting their numbers by kidnapping young children of various castes. These became a separate class known either as Ghulâm, an Arabic term meaning "slave," or Tahla, a Hindi word meaning "one who walks about in attendance," "a follower." In contradistinction to this servile class the pure Barwâr calls himself Swâng, which in their slang means "master." It would appear that the recruitment of these Ghulâms has ceased in recent years, and that the pure Barwârs and the Ghulâms no longer intermarry. While the custom prevailed among the Gonda branch the other divisions of the tribe would not intermarry with them. At present it is said that they neither give their daughters in marriage nor take girls from the Ghulâms, who have become themselves an endogamous section. Below the Ghulâms again is another section known as Tilâms or Talâms, who are the descendants of children kidnapped by the Ghulâms. These ostracised Ghulâms and Tilâms are the only members who have been as yet allowed by the tribe to enlist in the Police. Ghulâms will eat food prepared by Barwârs, but the latter will not touch a dish prepared by the former. Male Ghulâms and Tilâms both get their equal share of plunder from the thieving gangs they join. A dowry is given with the Ghulâm bride, but not with the bridegroom. The Tilâms possess the same privileges in every way as their kidnappers, the Ghulâms. The Ghulâms are still believed occasionally to seduce girls of other castes, such as Brâhmans, Chhatris, Murâos, Kurmis, Ahîrs and Kalârs. These are received and adopted into the community. The more respectable Barwârs are also known as Thakuriya in Gonda.

Marriage rules.

3. The marriage of two sisters is permitted, provided the elder sister is married before the younger. The custom of exchanging girls in marriage does not prevail among them. The bride is admitted into the family of her husband without any special ceremony; but it is significant that every Barwâr, on marrying, is obliged to give to the landlord four hundred betel leaves or the equivalent value in money, which looks as if it were a commutation of the *jus primæ noctis*, if it be not one of the ordinary dues levied by a landlord on his tenants. They may take two wives at one time. The favourite wife for the time being rules the household. Concubinage with women of the tribe is allowed; polyandry is prohibited.

Marriage is both adult and infant. Divorce is permitted in case of infidelity on the part of the woman. The husband merely assembles the clansmen, and announces to them the fact of the divorce. Divorced wives cannot be re-married; but they may be kept as concubines by other men in the caste. They have a peculiar rule of inheritance by which the property is divided, half going to the children of the regularly married wife or wives, and the other half to the children of the concubines, provided they belong to the Barwâr caste. The offspring of a woman of a strange tribe have no rights of inheritance. When a pure Barwâr marries or keeps a woman of another caste he is excommunicated and sinks to the rank of a Ghulâm. Illicit intrigues within the caste are also punished by expulsion; but the offending parties can be restored on giving a tribal feast. Widow marriage is allowed. The only ceremony is that the man puts a set of bangles (*chûrs*) on the woman and feeds the community. The levirate is permitted, not enforced, and the widow may, if she pleases, accept an outsider. In such cases she loses the right of guardianship over the children of the first marriage, and has no rights of succession to the estate of her first husband.

Birth ceremonies.

4. The mother is attended by a woman of the Kori caste, who acts as midwife. She attends for five days and then the barber's wife acts as nurse for eight days. On the twelfth day after a birth the father purchases spirits and treats the brotherhood, and puts silver and gold ornaments on the child. This is supposed to bring luck in thieving. If a Barwâr fails to bring home plunder he is taunted by his comrades that his father did not perform the twelfth-day ceremony. If a child is thus initiated, he gets his share of the spoil; but if born after the Dasahra of Jeth he does not share till the next Dasahra of Kuâr. Similarly, during the rainy season, each man keeps his own plunder and has to share only with those who are incapacitated from thieving by blindness, old age, or some physical defect. But, as a rule, they seldom thieve in the rains from the Dasahra of Jeth to the Dasahra of Kuâr; and after the latter date the partnership of the whole community is revived, and every soul becomes entitled to a share in the spoil, whether he goes on a thieving excursion or remains at home. Widows and women who live in retirement get no share; but if a Barwâr is in prison his share goes to his wife.

Betrothal.

5. The girl's father with some friends goes to the house of the boy, and pays his father a couple of rupees. He entertains his guests and sends to the bride, in return, some curds, fish, sweetmeats and a bottle of liquor. This settles the betrothal. This generally takes place when the girl is between three and seven.

Marriage ceremonies.

6. The marriage ceremonies begin with the *lagan* or fixing of the wedding day, which is carried out in the ordinary way. The actual ceremonies are of the usual type. The binding portions of the ritual are the *kanyá-dán* or giving away of the bride, the *pairpúja* or worship of the feet of the bridegroom by his future father-in-law, and the *bhanwar* or walking of the pair round the sacred fire.

Funeral ceremonies.

7. The young are buried; adults are cremated, or the corpse is thrown into a river. After the cremation is over they bathe and then plant a piece of *kusá* grass in the ground to act as a refuge for the spirit until the funeral rites are completed. The man who fired the pyre pours water on this for nine days; on the tenth day he is shaved, on the eleventh the Mahâbrâhmans are feasted; on the twelfth day the friends and relatives are fed; on the thirteenth the Brâhmans are fed. After this one Brâhman is fed for a year on the day of each month when the death occurred. On the anniversary there is a feast, and at this the family priest (*purohit*) receives five articles of wearing apparel—a jacket (*angarkha*); a loin cloth (*dhoti*); a turban (*safa*); a sheet (*chádar*); bedding (*bistar*); and five cooking utensils—a pot (*lota*), a tray (*thâli*), a cooking pot (*batloi*), a tongs (*dastpanah*), a spoon (*karchhul*). Besides these things he gets a cot (*chárpái*); wooden sandals (*kharaun*); a pair of shoes (*júta*); and a stool (*pírha*). When the corpse cannot be found the ceremonies are performed on an effigy made of barley and *sánwan*.

Religion.

8. Their special deity is Bhâgawati. The household sacrifice is held on the third or fifth day of the first half of Bhâdon, when the master sacrifices a fowl and bakes thin cakes called *lubra*. These, with cooked gram, are given to a Muhammadan beggar as an offering to the Pânch Pîr. They make an annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Bâla Pîr, at Bahrâich, and offer a banner. They also worship Devi-Bhawâni; but in their depredations spare only the tomb at Bahrâich and the temple at Jagannath. When a goat is sacrificed to Bhâgawati, the head is

given to a gardener (*máli*), and the rest of the meat is eaten by the worshippers. Sometimes a pumpkin (*lauki*) is substituted for a goat.

Festivals.

9. They observe all the ordinary Hindu festivals, and also some which are not so common—the Bahura on the fourth light half of Bhâdon, when the girls eat curdled milk and cucumbers; on the Barka Itwâr or "great Sunday," the last Sunday of Bhâdon, they fast and drink milk at night; on the Sakat Chauth, or fourth light half of Mâgh, they eat sweet potatoes, sesamum, and new raw sugar. No spirits or intoxicating drugs of any kind are used at the Barka Itwâr, but at the other festivals they are freely consumed.

Omens.

10. Omens are much regarded on their expeditions. Tuesday, Friday, and Sunday, are lucky days, and sometimes Thursday. The ass is a lucky animal, and so are a dead body met on the road, a washerman, a woman, or a Pandit. Tuesday is, however, regarded by some as an unlucky day, and a jackal, a Gusâîn, an oilman, are also unlucky. A jackal or a fox crossing the road from right to left is lucky; the reverse is unlucky. When they go out to thieve they prefer to wear good clothes and a turban. When children are unhealthy they are given opprobrious names as a protection.

Taboos.

11. When worship is being done to keep off evil spirits, children are not allowed to be present. Any intercourse between the husband's father and the wife's relations is tabooed. The husband does not name his wife, and *vice versâ*. A father will not call his eldest son by his name, nor a disciple his Guru.

Social rules.

12. They eat the flesh of sheep and goats; they reject fowls, and will eat fish. Flesh of monkeys, beef, pork, crocodiles, snakes, jackals, rats, or other vermin, are not eaten. Spirits are freely drunk; they will eat the leavings of no one but a parent. Men and women eat apart. Before they eat they say *Jay Thákurji*, "Glory to the Lord!" To Brâhmans they use the salutation *Pâ lagan*, to Banyas, Kalwârs, etc., *Râm! Râm!*; to Sâdhs *Pranâm* and *Namaskâr*; to Gusâîns *Nâmonârâyan*; to Aughars, *Dandwat*. Elders bless their juniors with *Jiyo*, "Long may you live." Juniors say to their seniors *Pâ lagan*. Those who are equal in rank say *Râm! Râm!*.

13. Of those who have been brought under the Criminal Tribes Act some are cultivators and some field-labourers. Like the Sanaurhiyas, they do not commit dacoity, theft with burglary, theft at night, or cattle-lifting. The Sanaurhiya leaders are known as Nal, and those of the Barwârs, Sahua. The leaders of the Barwârs enjoy no rights or privileges from their zamîndârs, unlike the Sanaurhiyas. The Barwârs consult astrologers and go on predatory expeditions after the Dasahra; the Sanaurhiyas after the Diwâli. Among the Sanaurhiyas if any one renounce the profession of thieving, he is debarred from marrying in the caste; but a Barwâr under similar circumstances is debarred only from a share in the booty. The Sanaurhiyas associate with the children of any caste, even Chamârs, but the Barwârs jealously exclude outsiders. The Sanaurhiya gangs consist of not less than forty or fifty men; those of the Barwârs from twenty to fifty. The Sanaurhiyas teach their children thieving, and punish them if they forget their sleight of hand; but the Barwârs leave their children to learn themselves. The Sanaurhiyas have an umpire called Nahri, who settles disputes and divides the plunder. This is not the case with the Barwârs. The Sanaurhiyas administer oaths to each other to prevent misappropriation of stolen property; the Barwârs do not do this, but excommunicate the offender. The Sanaurhiyas go in for *zamîndâri* and cultivation, of which the Barwârs do little. In emergencies the leader is expected to feed his gang; but he usually stays at home and looks after the families, and whatever property is acquired is left to the Sahua or actual commander to be divided. The Sahua is generally a Barwâr, but he may be a Brâhman or Râjput, and is often the headman of the village. Another official is the Dhebra or Naliha (a term also applied to a Barwâr who gives up thieving and is excommunicated). He carries a spade, a knife, or dagger, and some leaf-platters, on which he serves meals to the gang. He receives three rupees *per mensem* in addition to his share of the spoil. He does not join in thieving. Some go out in smaller gangs, and these are usually more successful than those who go in large bodies. If a single Barwâr brings in plunder he keeps it for himself, and any articles of clothing he acquires are his own at whatever season he gets them. During the rains they engage in drinking and amusement and do not work, the house and farm work being done by the women. A Barwâr who secretes property which should go to the gang is

Occupation.

called Kabkatta. If he readily surrenders his spoils he is known as Khiliya. One who holds an influential position in the community is called Jûsar, and one who, from poverty, is obliged to take service is called Rih. A person in ordinary circumstances is Rotikhâha. If within a year a Barwâr does not secure property of some value he does not return home through shame and mortification. Each man has a bag of net-work secured at both ends with a strong cotton string. It is kept tied to the waist and holds jewelry and valuables. It is so carefully concealed that it often escapes detection. The slang phrase for the mode of tying this bag is *langri bigâna*. The women are usually employed in service with the village zamîndârs, and receive very petty remuneration. If a Barwâr is dissatisfied or suspects misappropriation on the part of his Sahua, he can leave his gang or can discharge his Dhebra from his service, provided in the month of Asârh he clears up accounts with both Sahua and Dhebra.

Morality.

14. As might have been expected, when the women are left to themselves for a large part of the year adultery is very prevalent. If a woman be detected in a lonely or retired place or in a field or jungle in sexual intercourse with a man, whether it be compulsory or by consent, no Barwâr will take offence at it, nor will the woman be excluded from the brotherhood, and a child born in adultery is not considered illegitimate, but admitted to all rights and privileges as if it were legitimate. But if detected otherwise in the act of adultery, both the woman and her paramour are both excommunicated, and are re-admitted only after giving a feast to the community.

Modes of theft.

15. When they get booty, they return in November or December. When they go to a fair they always sojourn in the vicinity and some dress as devotees, Brâhmans, Mahâjans, soldiers, tradesmen, etc. Some mark their foreheads, wear the Brâhmanical thread, wear the dress, beads, etc., of learned Brâhmans, and shave their beards and moustaches. They generally keep a brass vessel with a string tied to it, and a stone pot tied up in a cloth. They generally go about with their backs naked, and carry some meal or dry gram in a bag and a stick in their hands. Thus they stroll about in a simple, dejected way intended to excite compassion. When interrogated they claim to be Brâhmans or Râjputs, and when arrested call

themselves Kurmis, Bâris, or Tamolis, and say that they are going on a pilgrimage to some famous shrine. They never divulge their real names. When they see valuable goods in a shop they pretend to barter or buy. If they observe the shop-keeper to be suspicious, they say *Biroh hai budah rahé deo*,—"He is on his guard; let him alone." When they conceal some article and say *Buthakr kai dhokar, pherai kar laé*,—"The shop-keeper is suspicious; take off the booty," then those who are near snatch up the article and run away, while those who are at the shop pretend to disagree about the bargain and leave. If a Barwâr wishes to call his friends to his aid he waves his handkerchief, or puts as many fingers to his cheek as he wants Barwârs to help him. At this signal those in the neighbourhood collect. When he wishes his confederate to carry off an article he puts his hand on his neck. In fact they have a more complete language of signs than any other thieving fraternity. When a Barwâr sees a man bathing with his clothes on the bank he puts his own bundle of rags close to it and changes his articles for it. Sometimes another Barwâr assists, and in this case the signal is *Teri di dâl*,—"Leave your own bundle and take his." For a single garment the signal is *Roto*,—"Leave your own cloth and take his." Whenever they see a crowd and property scattered in different places two of them join the crowd, while a third keeps watch. The signal is *Anchri sahâike chânsi râg lâi*,—"Throw the covering of your sheet over the property and make off with it." They tell how a soldier once concealed some jewelry under his shield and sat upon it. A Barwâr with studied inadvertence dropped two gold coins near him, and as the soldier stretched out his hand to seize them a confederate carried off the jewels. Another plan is to get up a mock fight among themselves in a bâzâr, under cover of which thefts are committed. The Barwâr women also frequent fairs like Ajudhya, Devi Pâtan, etc., and in rich dresses attend shrines and rob the worshippers. They also adopt the disguise of Brâhman women, and thus gaining admission to the private apartments of native ladies, commit depredations. Barwârs freely use the railway, and rob travellers.

Disposal of the booty.

16. Formerly they used always to take the stolen property home; but this has been in a great measure discontinued, since the police began to make searches and the tribe has come under special supervision. Some is

left with receivers in the chief places frequented by them. With some they come home after sunset, and keep it that night at their houses, and next day make it over to the Sahua for distribution. First a deduction is made of 3¾ *per cent.*—1¼ for Mahâbîr or Hanumân, 1¼ for Bâlapîr, 1¼ for Deviji. Out of the remainder, 28 *per cent.* is made over to the Barwâr who stole the property, and the balance is equally divided among the whole clan, including the thief himself. Out of the 28 *per cent.* paid to the thief, the Sahua appropriates half, and also receives his own share as a member of the gang. Thus the gains of the thief and Sahua are equal. It is also a rule that if a Barwâr returns with gold *muhars* the Sahua pays him ₹12 for each, and retains them himself. The rate is the same whatever the value of the coin may be, and this ₹12 is divided. Again, for silver bullion the Sahua pays only 10 annas for each rupee. Cloth and arms are the property of the thief. As to coral beads, one-sixth is given to the thief and five-sixths to the Sahua, who pays one anna for each bead; and this sum is divided among the clan, including the thief and the Sahua. For pearls, the Sahua pays ₹1-4-0 for each lot of 24, and the sum is divided. Then, when the spoils are divided, the Sahua produces his account and charges from ₹1-8-0 to ₹1-12-0 for each rupee he has advanced to the thief's family during his absence. For any balance due the Sahua takes a bond for a year at 100 *per cent.* All Barwârs are always in debt to the Sahua. The zamîndârs of villages in which Barwârs live realise from them a poll-tax of ₹1-8-0 per head, known as *subhâi*, and 3 *per cent.* on the value of property known as *chaundi*. They also get ₹1 per house known as *mâr-ginni*. Besides this the zamîndâr gets presents after a successful raid, and on occasion of births, marriages, etc., in his family. This tribute is known as *kavaila*. In the same way the zamîndâr takes fees for bailing a Barwâr.

This account has been mainly taken from a report prepared shortly after the Mutiny on the methods of the Barwârs. Their criminality has much diminished since they have been brought under the Criminal Tribes Act; but the details are so interesting from an ethnographical point of view that they deserve reproduction.

17. The Barwârs have an elaborate thieves' Latin of their own. The following list has been prepared by M. Karam Ahmad, Deputy Collector of Gonda, with the assistance of the police officers at present in charge of the

Thieves' patois of the Barwârs.

tribe. It would be easy to show that many or most of the words are corrupted Hindi :—

Sahua—the leader of a gang.
Dhebra—the attendant of a gang.
Kabkatta—a man who conceals part of the property.
Khiliya, Nalhiya—a man who faithfully gives up all he steals.
Jûsara—a rich Barwâr.
Rih, Sajurha—one who works for wages.
Roti khâha—one in ordinary circumstances.
Langri bigâna—to tie a purse round the waist.
Nal budâna—to fix a lucky day for a journey.
Phânr chhûrna—to put on the Brâhmanical thread.
Lût âi ao khankhur âte hain—clear out; the police are coming.
Bhûnk âi âo—disperse.
Langri lagâo—conceal the goods in your belt.
Wahi tir mâl dabâva hai—let us go where there is much to gain.
Akauti na kurais—don't betray your companions.
Murih ka asrâi deo—I am caught; give up hope for me.
Mâti lai—roll on the ground.
Chhâwa kuchâyo na nehti na kîno, nahîn tau uthai jâo gâi—do not reveal anything or you will be put to death.
Anchari sahâike châns râg lâe—throw your sheet over the goods and escape.
Pohina hai khâli lâi na—let us dig the property from the ground.
Subâi—tax paid by the Barwârs to the zamîndâr.
Chaunâi—tax paid on value of stolen property.
Mûnr ginni—house-tax paid by Barwârs.
Kavalla—presents given to zamîndârs at marriages.
Namut—man.
Bân—woman.
Bahub—Barwâr man.
Bahuban—Barwâr woman.
Kiryâr—son.
Chhâwa—grandson.
Tiryâr—boy of another tribe.
Dhûchar—old man.
Dhûchari—old woman.
Chhâi—Barwâr's daughter.
Kûsar—Brâhman.
Tenwâr—Râjput.
Phairu—Musalmân.
Chorka—British officer.
Baijarâi—a Râja.
Sahâjan—a merchant.
Muskâr—a Kâyasth.
Sûgha—a goldsmith.
Savat—a Bhât.
Kitiha—a blacksmith.
Lûdukha—a confectioner.
Kârikha—a torch-bearer.
Maskâta—a barber.
Chipta—an oil-man.

Matiha—a potter.
Leduha—a Kurmi or Lodha.
Sisuha—a washerman.
Bamâr—a sweeper; tanner; shoe-maker.
Suldaha—a bearer.
Guvaha—a cowherd.
Benu—a tailor.
Pûtaha—a liquor seller.
Aluhya—a beggar.
Satûrya—a dancing girl.
Benâri—a prostitute.
Lumit—a Kurmi or Barwâr.
Bisni—valuable property.
Guga—, Pachhâdha—, Auhiriya—, Udh— } various kinds of Barwârs.
Ruh—a poor Barwâr.
Siyâhi—a money-changer.
Kula dhânsu—officer in charge of a police station.
Nahkiar—a head police officer.
Churga—a constable.
Chuktahwa—a peon.
Bingar—a slave.
Pân—one acquainted with the Barwâr language.
Bantikhar—a handsome woman.
Karchhi—a cowry.
Beng—pice; a Barwâr's fees.
Chikain—a gold *muhar*.
Bikâsu—four annas.
Telahi—eight annas.
Kinâra—ten or fifteen rupees.
Sût—twenty rupees.
Bhita bhâri—one hundred rupees.
Audh durgani—fifty or five hundred rupees.
Bajâr—a thousand rupees.
Ganda—twenty-four rupees.
Kajari—night.
Kaira—a garden.
Dîp—day.
Nehâi—a fair; collection of people.
Dari—a highway.
Bepur—an unfrequented road.
Butahar—simple, careless.
Birah—wide awake.
Mudhar—not on guard.
Thûk—a gang.
Tikhurki—valuable things.
Ghavar—an army.
Chhulu—be silent.
Bel—head.
Bûl—face.
Chandrukh—eyes.
Pâlu—hand.
Sunghni—nose.
Gavana—shoe, foot.
Lutakha—breast.
Thâru—grove, timber.
Chanduph—wood.
Sukhar—river.
Laupju—water, fish.
Keli—fire.
Bhâbhi—box, well, pit.
Sonra—chair, stool.
Tinra—bundle.
Basuth—book.
Benâcha—looking-glass.
Gudara—shrine, bathing place.
Sunrhi—boat, elephant.
Nât—temple.
Pheru swâmi—Mosque.
Belâcha—Hindu temple.

Songala—European bungalow.
Mâr—dwelling-house.
Chivâri—thatch, cot.
Sullu—gate.
Aijâpu—priest.
Kalhâri—wheeled carriage.
Dehânu—bribe.
Chikâri—cattle.
Putâi—lamp.
Kunkhar—village watchman.
Chânsu, Khalna, Milavi—theft.
Lûni—plunder.
Uthai dâlna—to murder.
Tipaha—murder by poison.
Khurkana—kidnapping of children.
Kailiyâna—arson.
Bumv—affray, riot.
Jhumni—flogging.
Chamgaya—imprisonment.
Dîp—term of imprisonment.
Benbi—cohabitation.
Urso—comfortable sleep.
Gudhana—to eat.
Gânth—to drink.
Dîb—to sit.
Nusi—to plunder.
Phona baikali—to dig property out of the ground.
Lutiâna—to come hastily.
Bhaunkana—to leave the road.
Debidina—to conceal stolen property.
Gainjai lâna—to call up the whole gang.
Kachhana—to be afraid of.
Patâkhu—a gun.
Dharâr—a sword or other weapon.
Khopuri—a shield.
Unâva—corn.
Churki—milk, butter.
Pitâri—pepper.
Phurvâni—garlic, onion.
Lang—meal.
Dutar—intoxicating liquor.
Bhagâvati—meat.
Chupra—butter, oil.
Pharoti—pickles, vegetables.
Rasosi—salt.
Gurni—rice, bread, and pulse.
Lingi—parched grain.
Digna—to smoke and chew tobacco.
Lurhi—a camel.
Phûnk—bullock, a buffalo.
Nikûlha, Dautâra—a horse.
Chukarahwa—a mule or ass.
Sûnha—a tiger, a wolf.
Nemi—a sheep, a goat.
Sithâi—sweetmeats.
Bakalsithâi—coarse sweetmeats.
Sethar—pearls, precious stones.
Chuksar—silver.
Rih—copper.
Sul, Bakhil—bell metal.
Dharârwâla—iron.
Phoridaṭa—corn.
Kharâi dâlna—to sell stolen property.
Nikra—gold and silver ornaments.
Phûdiha—pearl or coral necklace.

Sunhi, Banthi—gold bead necklace.
Tungani—nose ring.
Betâl—gold necklace.
Tevaki—a bangle.
Gulchimni, Putpata—an ear ornament.
Gûna—a wrist ornament.
Bisendhi—metal plates, etc.
Chunti—a lota.
Bugna—a tub.
Dagana—a huqqa.
Ghaigha—a large metal vessel.
Biguli—a metal dish.
Kadenla—a vessel.
Munhlagani—grass.
Bhambhi—a bucket.
Kaili—a lamp stand.
Banauti—a metal box.
Chihu—a large metal pot.
Bijra—cloth.
Lamaicha—apparel.
Phutkan—a turban or waist-band.
Chappar—a sheet.
Dûna, Agasi—a cap.
Tilauthi—a waist cloth.
Sirki, Sulga—a small cloth worn over the head.
Padangarer—trousers.
Banri—a woman's head dress.
Salaicha—a woollen carpet.
Datta—a handkerchief.
Murghumana—a petticoat.
Thâphu, baklas—a quilt.
Tikhuri—rich clothes.
Selva—a small bag.
Kulahi—a large bag for cash.
Basîth—a bundle of cloth.
Davaiwâla—a carpet.
Chîn—brocade.
Bambu—tents.
Sûnvi—a double shawl.
Betachha—an umbrella.
Rutika—gold and silver articles.
Lugra—money offered to the gods.

Distribution of the Barwârs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	11	Allahâbâd . . .	445
Mathura	206	Jhânsi	145
Agra	73	Hardoi	6
Bareilly	361	Faizâbâd . . .	42
Morâdâbâd . . .	664	Gonda	2,579
Shâhjahânpur . . .	190	Bahraich	76
Cawnpur	284		
		Total .	5,062

Barwâr.—A sept of Râjputs of whom Mr. Carnegy writes[1]:—"They are said to be an offshoot of the Bais, and to have come from Dundiyakhera, about three hundred years ago, under two leaders, Baryâr Sinh, from whom they take their name, and Châhu Sinh, whence the Châhu clan. These two brothers were imprisoned by the Emperor Akbar at Delhi. The elder of the two brothers, during his incarceration, had a dream by night, in which he saw a deity who announced himself as Kariya Deota, and promised them deliverance and future greatness, and at the same time pointed out the spot where his effigy was buried in the earth. Soon after, on their release, they sought for and found the effigy and carried it off to the village of Chitâwan in Pargana Pachhimrâth, where they set it up as the object of their domestic adoration, and where it is still worshipped by both branches. Their sacred place is Râmghât at Begamganj, which was selected by their chieftain, Dilâsi Sinh, in consequence of their being excluded from Ajudhya by the enmity of the Sûrajbansi Thâkurs. Another account makes them an offshoot of the Bais who came from Mûngipâtan or Pathânpur, south-west of Jaypur, where their Râja Salivâhana, had a fort. Thence they came to Chitâwan Kariya and expelled the Bhars. There is a romantic legend describing how ten heroes of the clan carried off Padmani, the lovely queen of Kanauj, and made her over to the Emperor of Delhi, who in return gave them rent-free lands fourteen *kos* in circumference. These Barwârs were notorious for the practice of infanticide. Two daughters of the chief of the family who were permitted to live have married, one the Janwâr ex-Râja of Gonda, and the other the Raikwâr Raja of Râmnagar Dhimari, in the Bârabanki District; the Barwârs generally selected wives from the Palwâr, Kachhwâha, Kausik, and Bais septs, which is curious, as they claim Bais origin. These Barwârs are probably of equivocal aboriginal descent, and the heroic legend given above has probably been appropriated from some other clan." The Barwârs of Ballia are reported to take brides from the Ujjaini, Haihobans, Narwâni, Kinwâr, Nikumbh, Sengar, and Khâti, and to give girls to the Haihobans, Ujjaini, Narwâni, Nikumbh, Kinwâr, Bais Bisen, and Raghubansi. Their *gotra* is Kasyapa.

2. They are elsewhere known under the name of Birwâr and Berwâr. In Ghâzipur they say they first came from Delhi, and

[1] *Faisâbâd Settlement Report*, 280, *sq.*

take their name from Bernagar, their leading village. They are said to have come under the auspices of the Narauliyas, whom they helped to expel the Cheros.[1] There is a sept of them in the Chhapra District. In Azamgarh[2] they are said to be both Chhatris and Bhuînhârs, and not to rank high among either. "Each set ignores the origin of, or any connection with, the others. The Bhuînhârs can only say that they came from the westward. The Chhatris say they are Tomars, and were led from Bernagar, near Delhi, to Azamgarh, by a chief, Garak Deo, who lived between 1336 and 1455 A. D. The Chhatri and Bhuînhâr branches are of the same origin, as at marriages and other feasts they refuse to take from their hosts or offer to their guests broken cakes of pulse (*bara*). The origin of the custom is said to have been that at a feast to which a number of the Birwârs had been invited by another clan, their treacherous hosts, on the password *bara khanda chalâo* (*khanda* means "a sword" as well as "broken"), slaughtered the Birwârs. Their name is probably connected with this custom. The Brâhman ancestor of the sept is said to have come from Kanauj; but its different branches are not unanimous as to his name or pedigree, or how they came to Azamgarh."

Distribution of Barwâr Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Aligarh	5	Gorakhpur . . .	300
Allahâbâd	80	Basti	1,716
Jâlaun	34	Azamgarh . . .	5,249
Benares	50	Faizâbâd	3,402
Jaunpur	46	Gonda	54
Ballia	7,603	Sultânpur . . .	23
		Total .	18,492

[1] Oldham, *Memo.*, I., 61, *sq.*
[2] *Settlement Report*, 30.

Basor.[1]—A tribe found only in the Bundelkhand Division, and usually regarded as a sub-caste of Doms. Some of them are occasional visitors to Mirzapur and other towns, where the men work as musicians and basket-makers, and the women as midwives. The name of the tribe seems to mean "worker in the bamboo," and to be the same as Bânsphor (*q. v.*). The Basors have a large number of exogamous sections, of which locally the most important are: in Hamîrpur, the Bâhmangot, Dhuneb, Gotela, Katahriya, Parauniya, Sakarwâr, Samangot, Sarmoriya, Sonach, and Sûpa or Supach Bhagat, the Dom hero; in Jhânsi the Barâr, Basgarh, Basobiya, and Dhânuk; in Jâlaun, the Baghela, Balâhar, Khangrela, and in Lalitpur, the Barâr, Morel, and Purabiya. In Mirzapur they name four exogamous sections,—Kulpariya, Katariya (named from the *katâri* or curved knife used in splitting the bamboo); Neoriya, which is also a section of Dharkârs (*q.v.*), and takes its name from *newar*, a young, soft bamboo; and Bamhila, who say that they are so called because they had once some connection with Brâhmans. In Jhânsi the Basors are also known as Barâr and Dhânuk. Barâr is apparently derived from the Sanskrit *varataka kâra*, "a maker of string." Dhânuk is from the Sanskrit *dhanushka*, "a bow." When a Basor abandons his regular occupation of working in bamboo and takes service with a land-owner as messenger or drum-beater, he becomes known in Jhânsi by the name of Barâr, and the Dhânuks seem to have been an offshoot from the original Basor stock, who took to the profession of bow-making. They now, however, work as much in bamboo as the regular Basors do; and all three—Basors, Dhânuks, and Barârs—intermarry and eat and drink together. In Jhânsi they have no traditions of their origin, but believe themselves indigenous to that part of the country. They name in Jhânsi, like so many of these menial castes, seven exogamous sections, Jhitiya, Loleri, Rasmel, Saina, Astiya, Bhardela, and Gursariya: of the origin, and explanation of these names they can give no explanation. A man must marry in Jhânsi in a section different from his own; he will not give his daughter in marriage into a section from which his own wife has come; but he can take wives for his sons, brothers, and brothers' sons, etc., from that section. The prohibition against intermarriage lasts only for three generations. In Mirzapur the stray visitors who

[1] Based on enquiries made at Mirzapur, and a note by M. Karam Ahmad, Deputy Collector, Jhânsi.

occasionally come are said to be governed by the same rule of exogamy as in the case of the Dharkârs (*q. v.*). As far as religion goes the only bar to intermarriage is conversion to another creed, such as Islâm or Christianity. A man may have as many wives as he can afford to keep, and some in Jhânsi have as many as three or four. The first wife, known as Biyâhta or Jethi, manages the house, and the others are subordinate to her. Further than this the Basors admit the introduction of a woman of another tribe; but it is asserted that she is not allowed, at any rate at first, complete caste privileges, and if she comes of a caste lower than the Basor, such as the Bhangi, she is never so admitted. If she be of any superior caste, she is admitted to full tribal privileges if her husband give a feast (*roti*) to the clansmen.

Marriage rules.

2. Women are allowed full freedom before marriage, and fornication, if it do not become a public scandal, and particularly if the woman's paramour be a fellow caste-man, is lightly regarded. They usually marry their girls at puberty at the age of ten or twelve; if they are orphans, they settle the marriage themselves, and in any case a considerable freedom of choice seems to be allowed. This choice, curiously enough, is always notified through a female relation, sister, mother, or aunt of the boy or girl, and she notifies it to the tribal council, who, if they agree, permit the marriage to proceed. Widows and widowers living by themselves have full freedom of choice. Some small sum of money, or some vessels, clothes, etc., are usually given by the parents of the bride as dowry, and these become the property of the husband. There is no regular divorce, but if a pair do not agree, or if the husband is dissatisfied with the conduct of his wife, they can separate at any time, and re-marry or take a partner by the *sagâi* form, within the caste. If the parties agree to separate, the case need not necessarily come before the tribal council unless there is some dispute about the property, or the woman protests against the charge brought against her and challenges her husband to prove it in the presence of the assembled brethren. In such case it appears to be the rule that no circumstantial evidence of adultery is accepted; if there are no actual eye-witnesses, the charge will be dismissed. Any child born by any woman or by any form of connection recognised by tribal usage is admitted as legitimate, and ranks as an heir to any property, which is seldom much, that may be left by his

father. If a Basor woman have a child by a man of a higher caste, such children will not be allowed to intermarry with a Basor of pure blood, but must find a husband or wife from among families which suffer from the same bar sinister. On the contrary, if a Basor keep a woman of a higher caste than his own, he has seldom any difficulty, particularly if he be a man of standing and substance in the tribe, in marrying his children in a family of pure blood.

Widow marriage.

3. As a rule all widows of marriageable age find a new partner. Such connection is fully recognised, and is known in Mirzapur as *sagái*, and in Bundelkhand as *dharauna* or *baithána*, "making her sit in the house." There is no particular ceremony in widow marriage, except the announcement of the connection and the giving of a feast to the brethren. The levirate is recognised, but is not compulsory on the widow. In a recent case at Jhânsi the tribe excommunicated a man who formed a connection with the widow of his younger brother, and expressed extreme horror at such an act. If the children of a widow are very young she generally takes them with her to the house of her new husband, who adopts them as his own, and is held responsible for getting them married and starting them in the world. In this case they lose all rights to the property of their own father. But if the children are grown up they usually stay with the family of their late father, and are heirs to his estate. If the widow is old and does not form a new connection, she is entitled to a life maintenance in the house of her late husband. If a widow forms a connection with the younger brother of her late husband, he takes all the property and adopts his nephew or nieces as his own. In Mirzapur there is a regular bride-price fixed by tribal custom: this is nine and a half rupees in cash, liquor to the value of three rupees, two sheets, three *sers* of coarse sugar, and two *sers* of sweetmeats. More or less than this cannot be given without leave of the council. An outsider marrying a virgin widow has to pay twenty-two rupees, and it is a peculiarity among them that the man, as in other castes, does not go to fetch his wife, but her relatives bring her, realise the marriage fee, and then make her over to her new partner.

Birth customs.

4. A woman during delivery is attended by a woman of the tribe. With the umbilical cord a few pice are buried, and at the door of the delivery room a broken shoe or the horn of some animal is burnt to ward off evil from

mother and child; the foul smelling smoke thus produced is supposed to be particularly offensive to evil spirits. They have the usual sixth (*chhathi*) and twelfth day (*barahi*) ceremony, and on the latter a young pig is sacrificed in the name of some godling, about whom they are most reluctant to give any information or even to mention him by name. After her purification the mother worships the family well by rubbing red lead on the platform and pouring some water and a few grains of rice near it. Children have their ears bored and are ceremonially shaved at the age of five or six.

Marriage ceremonies.

5. In Mirzapur the betrothal is arranged by the husband of the father's sister of the boy, possibly a survival of the matriarchate. The betrothal (*mangni*) is concluded by sending a skirt (*ghaghri*) and a sheet (*orhni*) with some liquor and treacle for the bride, after which the clansmen are feasted on pork and liquor. Some time after is a second ceremony in which the two fathers exchange leaf-platters filled with water or spirits, into one of which the boy's father drops a rupee or two. In Jhânsi the marriage is first arranged by the women, and then a day is fixed on which the friends of the bride send a turban and a rupee for the bridegroom. This is received in the presence of the brethren, who are entertained with tobacco and spirits, which last in the case of poor people is replaced by sharbat. When the present has once been accepted, the engagement is held final, and either party repudiating it is suitably dealt with by the tribal council. Then follows the *matmangara* ceremony common to all low castes in the Eastern Districts. Among the Basors the earth, on this occasion, is dug by the brother-in-law of the boy's father and the father of the bride, in which, again, we seem to find a survival of the matriarchate. In the centre of the marriage shed is a bamboo, and some wooden images of parrots are fixed up, with a jar full of water covered with a saucer filled with rice. Then one of the senior men of the tribe makes a fire offering (*hom*) in honour of the deceased ancestors, and the clothes of the pair are knotted together, and they are made to walk seven times round the sacred fire. In Jhânsi an old man says this prayer: "Ye godlings (*devta*), stand witness that this pair are joined by the knot. Keep them as closely joined in love as the knot which ties their raiment." On the fourth day is the *chauthi chhorna*, when the marriage pitchers (*kalsa*) are thrown into water by the mother of the bridegroom. The binding part of

the ceremony is the giving away of the bride (*kanyádán*) by the bridegroom.

Death ceremonies.

6. When they can afford it, they burn the dead in the usual way; poor people simply fling the corpse into running water; if no river be convenient, it is buried. Some sacrifice a hog in the name of the dead man; some do not. After six months the brethren are feasted. Some kill a pig, cut off its legs, and bury the trunk (*thúnth*, *thúthan*) in the courtyard, in the belief that this prevents the ghost of the dead from giving annoyance to the survivors. In Mirzapur it appears that, as among the Doms, the sister's son of the dead man acts as priest at his obsequies; but this is denied at Jhânsi. At any rate it is quite certain that no Brâhman officiates, and that all the ceremonies are performed by some old man of the tribe. The death impurity lasts only three days, and is then removed by bathing.

Religion.

7. The tribal deities are Kâli-Bhawâni and Ganga Mâi, or Mother Ganges. To the east of the Province they offer sacrifices of pigs to Vindhyabâsini Devi, at Bindhâchal. In Jhânsi they offer to Kâli or Jagadamba Devi, during the Naurâtra of Chait and Kuâr, or in other months, on a Monday or Friday, cocoanuts, sweets, spirits, betel leaves, and sometimes a goat. In Jhânsi they also worship various deified persons who are called Bâba. Thus there is Gusâîn Bâba, who has a platform under a pîpal tree near Moth Tahsîl, in the Jhânsi District. He is said to roam about in his ascetic costume in the neighbourhood, and sometimes speaks to people. Nat Bâba has no special shrine; but his platform is to be seen in many villages with a little niche for holding a light, which is occasionally lighted in his honour. Many curious tales of this worthy are told, one being that after his death he attended the marriage of his grand-daughter, and made all the arrangements for the reception of the guests. Mahton Bâba is the ghost of some celebrated village headman of the olden time, of whom little is known except that he is now a guardian of villages, and wards off famine and pestilence from men and cattle if he be duly propitiated with some sweets and cocoanuts. The Sayyid, or Shahîd Mard, is some Muhammadan martyr, whom they greatly reverence, and another worthy of the same class, Jîwan Shâh Bâba, is also much respected. In no part of this worship are the services of Brâhmans required; but the Joshi or village astrologer is occasionally consulted to

select lucky days for weddings and the like. Their holidays are the Phagua or Holi, the Kajari, the Panchaiyân, Naumi, and Dasmi, at all of which they get drunk, if they can afford to do so. They are much afraid of the ghosts of those who die a violent death by drowning or some other accident. Such ghosts haunt the scene of the accident, and need careful propitiation. They have a very vague idea of the other world. They believe in a sort of hell into which evil-doers are flung and fall into a pit full of human ordure and urine.[1] This place they call Narak, of which Manu enumerates twenty-one varieties. Some of them who are becoming more enlightened have now begun to perform some rude kind of *srâddha*. Women who are tattooed on the arms, wrists, breast, and below the knee, become holy, and the door-keepers of Bhagwân admit them into his paradise.

Social customs.

8. The women wear nose-rings (*nathya, phurhur*), ear-rings (*bâli*), ear ornaments (*karanphûl*), bangles (*chûri, kara*), ankle ornaments (*pairi, sânkar*). They swear by the Ganges, Kâli-Bhawâni, and on their sons' heads. They will eat almost any meat, including beef and pork, and all kinds of fish, but not monkeys, vermin, and the like. They will not eat other people's leavings, nor food touched by a Musahar, Dom, Chamâr, Dhobi, Halâlkhor, or Dharkâr. Like all of the Dom race, they have a hatred for Dhobis, and consider them the vilest of all castes. They have the usual taboos. They will not touch their younger brother's wife, their child's mother-in-law (*samdhin*), nor will they mention their wives by name. The elder brother's wife can eat out of the same dish as her husband's younger brother; but no wife or younger brother's wife will eat with a husband or his elder brother or father. Their salutation is *Râm! Râm!* and the juniors touch the feet of their elders. Women seem, on the whole, to be fairly well treated; but they are soundly beaten if they misbehave themselves. No one, not even a Dom or Mehtar, will drink water from their hands. They will eat food cooked by a Nâi or any higher caste.

Occupation.

9. They live by making baskets and other articles manufactured out of bamboo, and playing on the flute (*bânsuli*), or the tambourine (*dafla*), at marriages. Their women are midwives.

[1] On this idea of hell see *Bhuiyâr*, 16.

Distribution of the Basors according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Cawnpur . . .	42	Jhânsi . . .	7,912
Bânda . . .	12,264	Jâlaun . . .	5,231
		Total .	25,447

Bâwariya.[1]—A hunting and criminal tribe practically found only in Muzaffarnagar and Mirzapur. Various explanations have been given of the name. Colonel Dalton would connect it with the Sanskrit *barbara, varvara,* which appears to be the Greek *barbaros,* and applied to any outcaste who cannot speak Sanskrit. Others take it to be another form of the Hindi *bâola, bâora* (Sanskrit, *vâtûla,* "inflamed with wind"). It is most probably derived from the Hindi *banwar,* "a creeper" (Sanskrit *bhramara*), in the sense of a noose made originally from some fibrous plant and used for trapping animals, which is one of the primary occupations of the tribe. The Bâwariyas in these provinces seem to fall into two branches—those resident in the Upper Duâb, who still retain some of their original customs and manners, and those to the east, who assert a more respectable origin, and have abandoned their original predatory life.

The Western Bâwariyas.

2. The best account of the western branch is that given by Mr. J. Wilson [2]—"The Bâwariyas of Sirsa are divided into four sections—(1) the Bidâwati from Bikâner territory, claiming connection with the Bidâwat Râjputs, giving Chithor as their place of origin; (2) the Deswâli, living in the country about Sirsa; (3) the Kapriya to the west about Delhi; (4) the Kâlkamaliya, or "black blanket people," who (especially the women) wear black blankets, and are found chiefly among the Sikhs of the jungle and Mâlwa country. These four sections do not eat together or intermarry; but say they all came originally from the country about Bikâner. They are most numerous in Rajputâna and the districts bordering upon it, but extend up the Satlaj to Firozpur and Lahore. The name of the

[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and a note by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bijnor.

[2] *Sirsa Settlement Report,* 123.

tribe seems to be derived from the *banwar* or snare with which they catch wild animals, but many of them despise this their hereditary occupation; and, indeed, it seems now to be practised only by the Kâlkamaliya or Panjâbi section. The Bâwariyas are seemingly an aboriginal tribe, being of a dark complexion and inferior physique, though resembling the Bâgri Jâts. Many of them are fond of a wandering life, living in wretched huts, and feeding upon lizards, foxes, and other jungle animals, but they say they will not eat fish. In other districts they are known as a criminal tribe, but here many of them are fairly respectable cultivators, some are employed as village watchmen, and many of them are skilled in tracking. They are divided into clans (*got*, *nak*) with Râjput names, such as Chauhân, Panwâr, Bhâti. The Bâwariyas who live among the Sikhs (Kâlkamaliya) wear the hair long (*kes*), and some of them have become regular Sikhs, and have received the *pahul*. The black blanket Bâwariyas speak Panjâbi, and the Bidâwati Bâgri; but they have besides a dialect peculiar to themselves, and not understood by the ordinary peasants. Bâwariyas consider themselves good Hindus, and say that regular Brâhmans officiate at their marriage ceremonies—the same Brâhmans as officiate for Jâts and Banyas. They hold the cow sacred and will not eat beef; they burn their dead and send their ashes to the Ganges. They are said sometimes to admit men of other tribes to their fraternity, and an instance is given in which a Banya for love of a Bâwariya woman became a Bâwariya himself."

Manner of hunting practised by the Western Bâwariyas.

3. "Whole families of Bâwariyas come South in the rains for a lizard hunt, and may be seen returning with baskets full of their game, which live for days without food, and thus supply them with a succession of fresh meat. The lizard has a soft fat body and a broad tail with spikes along each side. He lives on grass, cannot bite severely, and is sluggish in his movements, so that he is easily caught. He digs a hole for himself of no great depth, and the easiest way to catch him is to look out for the scarcely perceptible air-hole and dig him out; but there are various ways of saving oneself this trouble. One, which I have seen, takes advantage of a habit the lizard has in cold weather (when he never comes out of his hole) of coming to the mouth for air and warmth. The Chûhra or other sportsman puts off his shoes and steals along the prairie till he sees signs of a lizard's hole. This he approaches on tiptoe, raising over

his head with both hands a mallet with a round, sharp point, and fixing his eyes intently upon the hole. When close enough, he brings down his mallet with all his might on the ground just behind the mouth of the hole, and is often successful in breaking the lizard's back before he awakens to a sense of his danger. Another plan, which I have not seen, is to tie a wisp of grass to a long stick and move it over the hole, so as to make a rustling noise. The lizard within thinks "Oh here's a snake! I may as well give in," and comes to the mouth of the hole, putting out his tail first that he may not see his executioner. The sportsman seizes his tail and snatches him out before he has time to learn his mistake.

4. "Again, a body of them, men, women, and children, go out into the prairie in search of game. When they have sighted a herd of antelope in the distance, they choose a favourable piece of ground and arrange their *banwars*, which are a series of many running nooses of raw hide tied together and fastened loosely to the ground by pegs; from the *banwars* they rapidly make two lines of bogies by sticking bits of straw with black rags tied to them into the ground at distances of a foot or two apart. These lines widen away from the snares so as to enclose a V-shaped piece of ground with sides perhaps a mile in length, the unsuspecting herd of antelope being enclosed within the V, at the pointed end of which are the snares. All this is arranged in a wonderfully short space of time, and when it is all ready, the main body of hunters, who have meanwhile gone round the herd of antelope and formed a line across the open mouth of the V, suddenly start up, and by unearthly yells drive the herd inwards towards the point. The first impulse of the antelopes is to rush directly away from their tormentors, but they soon come to the long lines of fluttering bits of rag which forms one line of the V. They are thus directed into the place occupied by the snares. It is interesting as one of the methods by which an ignorant tribe with the simplest means can by their superior cunning circumvent the swift antelope on his native prairies."

Dialect of the Western Bâwariyas.

5. "The Bâwariyas have a dialect of their own, which has sometimes been considered a sort of thieves' slang kept up to facilitate their combination for purposes of crime; but the great mass of the Bâwariyas in this district are not at all given to crime, and have no desire to conceal their dialect; moreover it is spoken most generally by the women and children, while the men, at all events in their intercourse with

their neighbours, speak in ordinary Bâgri or Panjâbi. It seems probable that it is simply the dialect of the country of their origin, kept up by them in their wanderings. I had not much time to make much enquiry about it, but was given the following as their names for the numbers by their leading men—*ek, bai, tren, chár, pánch, chhau, hát, áth, nau, daukh, vik,* (20) and the following words—*khakhra* for *susra* (father-in-law), *khakhu* for *sásu* (mother-in-law), *hándo* for *sándo* (lizard), *manukh* (man), *chára* (antelope), *haru* (snake), *laukra* (fox), *nauri* (jackal), *jamna* (right hand), *dava* (left hand). Some of these words may be Bâgri, and they are not much to go upon, but the use of *kh*, for *s*, and the peculiar *kh* for the Sanskrit palatal sibilant should afford some clue to the origin of the dialect; for this *kh* sound, like the Arabic *kh* in *khâwind*, is not found in any dialect indigenous in this part of India." The numerals are obviously of Sanskrit origin, and so are most of the words—*chára, harina; haru, sarpa; laukra, lomasa; nauri, nakula; jamna* is the direction of the river Yamuna, Jumna; *dava, dakshina.*

The Bâwariyas of the North-Western Provinces.

6. A body of Bauriyas or Bâwariyas who were, many years ago, interrogated as to their customs and kindred, gave the following account of themselves[1]: —"The Mugîns and Baguras who reside in Mâlwa and on the Chambal river commit dacoity, burglary, and theft; they stick at nothing. They go in large parties (*káfila*), sometimes as carriers of Ganges water, sometimes as Brâhmans, with the sacred string round their necks. The Hâbûras commit theft. The Gûjars call us Gidiyas, and the Jâts call us Bauris. Gidiya is merely a local name of our tribe; there is no distinct class of people of that name. The Sânsiyas are not of our tribe; they are a distinct class; they are thieves, but seldom ascend to dacoity—(this is certainly incorrect). The Kanjars are all thieves; they cut grass and make thatches, and bivouac in suburbs under huts of long grass (*sirki*), but always thieve. Our caste was originally Râjput, and our ancestors came from Mârwâr. We have seven clans (*gol*)—Punwâr, Soharki, Dabas, *alias* Dâbi, Chauhân, Tunwar, Dhandara, *alias* Dhandal or Koli, and Gordhi, with the Châmi, making eight in all. Two or three centuries ago, when the Emperor of Delhi

[1] *Selections from the Records of Government, North-Western Provinces*, I., 386; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, I., 66.

attacked the fortress of Chithor and besieged it for twelve years for the sake of the Princess Padmani, the country became desolate, and we were obliged to emigrate in search of employment, and disperse. Those that came into the Delhi territory were called Bauris; those that went into the Gwâlior territory were called Mugîns and Bagûras. To the eastward they were called Baddhiks, and in Mâlwa Hâbûras. We are not people of yesterday; we are of ancient and illustrious descent. When Râvana took away the wife of the god Râma, and Râma wanted to recover her, men of all castes went to fight for him in the holy cause. Among the rest was a leader of the Bauris called Pardhi. When Râma vanquished his enemy and recovered Sîta he asked Pardhi what he could do for him. 'Grant,' said Pardhi, 'that I may attend your Majesty, mount guard, and hunt in the intervals of leisure, and I shall have all that my heart wishes.' The god granted him his request, and his occupation has come down to us. If any Prince happens to have an enemy that he wishes to have made away with, he sends for some of our tribe and says,—'Go and bring so and so's head.' We go, steal into his sleeping apartments, and take off the person's head without any other person knowing anything about it. If a Prince wanted, not the head of his enemy, but the gold tassels of the bed on which he lay asleep, we brought them to him. In consequence of our skill in those matters we were held everywhere in high esteem, and we served Princes and had never occasion to labour at tillage. This was before the emigration and dispersion of the tribe. We, who have come to the Delhi territory and are called Bauris, took to the trade of thieving. Princes still employed us to take off the heads of their enemies and rob them of their valuables. At present the Bauris confine themselves almost exclusively to robbing tents; they do not steal cattle or break into houses, but they will rob a cart on the highway occasionally; any other trade than robbery they never take to. They reside in or near villages under the protection of landlords, and while out for a long period at their vocation, they leave their wives and children under their care. They give them the means of subsistence, and for these advances we are often indebted to them three hundred or four hundred rupees by the time we return. When we are about to set out on our expeditions we get a loan of twenty or thirty rupees from the landholders or merchants of the place, and two days before starting we sacrifice a goat and make burnt offerings to the goddess Devi, sometimes to

her of the fiery furnace of Jawâla, in the Himâlaya, and sometimes to our old tutelary god of Chithor. We present sweetmeats and vow unwearied devotions if we are successful. After this we take our auspices thus:—We go in the evening into the jungle, and there in silence expect the call. If the partridge or jackal call on the left we set out without further ceremony; the bark of a fox even will do. If any of them call on the right, we return home and try again the day following. As soon as we get a good omen we set out. If we take it in the morning it must be before sunrise, and the fox, partridge, or jackal, must cry on the right to be good. If a deer cross from the left to the right it is a good omen. We have a couplet on this subject signifying that if the crow and the deer cross from the left to the right and the blue jay from left to right, even the wealth that has gone from us will come back."

Present condition in the Upper Duâb.

7. The Census returns give the sections as Badniyâr, Banwâr, Bardhia, Barmâr, Chauhân, Dalê, Dhandin, Dyâs, Garali, Gaur, Gûjar, Kori, Madniyâriya, Pahari, Panwâr, Râjput, Solankhi, Saurangi, and Topiwâl. Those best known in the Upper Duâb are, Turai, Pachhâda or "Western," Gola Kori, and Khâgi. These *gotras*, as they are called, are exogamous, but the Turai marry only with the Pachhâda and the Gola with the Khâgi. This rule of exogamy they reinforce with the rather vague formula that marriage with relatives by blood (*dûdh kê wâlêdâr*) is prohibited. They can marry two sisters in succession. They have now settled down and abandoned their wandering habit of life. They admit strangers into the caste. The only ceremony is that the convert has to eat and drink with his new clansmen. Some say that candidates for admission must be of high caste themselves; but they do not appear to be very particular, and these new admissions are treated at the outset with some contempt, and are not all at once admitted into full tribal privileges. Marriage usually takes place in infancy. The standard of morality is very low, because in Muzaffarnagar[1] it is extremely rare for a Bâwariya woman to live with her husband. Almost invariably she lives with another man; but whoever he may be, the official husband is responsible for the children. Divorced wives and widows can marry in the clan by the *kordo* form, and a man can have two or three wives at a time. The marriage ceremony is

[1] *North Indian Notes and Queries*, I., 51.

carried out by the brother-in-law (*dhiyâna*) of the bride, and he makes them walk round the marriage shed, and promise to be faithful to each other. The relative, in fact, does all their religious and quasi-religious ceremonies. Infidelity, contraction of a fatal disease, and loss of religion and caste warrant either husband or wife giving up cohabitation, and if the separation is approved of by the clansmen, the woman can re-marry by the *karâo* form. It is also said that a wife can be discarded when she loses her good looks.

Religion and customs of the Western Bâwariyas.

8. They are Hindu by religion and worship Kâli-Bhawâni and Zâhir Dîwân. The women in particular worship Kâli-Bhawâni. As already stated, they do not employ Brâhmans, but get their religious business done by the brother-in-law. They usually burn the adult dead, and bury those who have not been married. They are in constant fear of the ghosts of the dead, and lay out food for them in platters made of leaves. They now principally live by catching birds of all kinds. Those that are eatable, they sell; others they take to the houses of rich Jain merchants, and make an income by releasing them from their cages. They do not prostitute their married women or girls. They will eat almost any kind of meat except beef, and indulge freely in liquor. They will eat and drink from the hands of any Hindu except Nats and the regular outcaste tribes.

The Eastern Bâwariyas of the North-Western Provinces.

9. In direct contrast to this disreputable branch of the tribe are the Eastern Bâwariyas of Mirzapur. They are very possibly an offshoot of the Bauris of Western Bengal, of whom Mr. Risley writes[1]:—"They are a cultivating, earth-working, and palanquin-bearing race, whose features and complexion stamp them as of non-Aryan descent, although evidence is wanting to affiliate them to any particular tribe now in existence. Their meagre folk-lore throws no light on their origin. According to one story they were degraded for attempting to steal food from the banquet of the gods; another professes to trace them back to a mythical ancestor named Bâhak Rishi (the bearer of burdens), and tells how, while returning from a marriage procession, they sold the palanquin they had been hired to carry, got drunk on the proceeds, and assaulted their Guru, who cursed them for the sacrilege, and compelled them to rank thence-

[1] *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I., 78.

forward among the lowest castes of the community. Another name for this ancestor is Rik Muni, the same as the eponym of the Musahars and Bhuiyas; but it would be straining conjecture to infer from this any connection between the Bauris and the Bhuiyas." At any rate the Mirzapur Bâwariyas admit no connection with such people. According to their own account they were originally Bais Chhatris, and come from Baiswâra, a tract of country which Sir H. M. Elliot defines as lying between Cawnpur on the west, the Sâi river which, running through the Partâbgarh District, joins the Gûmti some twenty miles south-east of the town of Jaunpur; and between the Chhuâb rivulet on the south, and Dikhtân, or the land of the Dikhit Râjputs, on the north.

10. They tell their story as follows:—There were two Chhatri brothers named Sûrê and Bîrê, who left Baiswâra in search of employment, and went to Chayanpur, in the Shâhâbâd District. There they took service with a Râja who had a lovely daughter. When her suitor, a neighbouring Râja, came to woo her, the two brothers challenged his wrestlers. To show their prowess they took a well-burnt tile and crushed it into dust, with which they rubbed their bodies as athletes do before they enter the arena. Then they tore up a great tamarind tree by the roots, and the rival wrestlers ran away in fear. This so pleased their master that he gave them a village called Bâwari or Chân Bâwari, from whence they take their name. They appear now to be fully recognised as Chhatris, and marry in the Chauhân, Jethi, and Gaharwâr clans.

11. They have now no landed property, but settle as tenants wherever they can find land. They do not admit outsiders into the tribe. Their marriage rules are of the type common to the more respectable tribes, but their special worship of Dulha Deo at marriages suggests a connection with some of the non-Aryan races. This is done on the eve of the marriage. The house kitchen is plastered, and the oldest woman of the family draws a *lota* full of water from the well, but in doing this she must use only her right hand. A burnt offering is then made with one-and-a-quarter *sers* of butter, and the water is poured on the floor in honour of the godling. Widow marriage is forbidden, and a woman caught in adultery must be discarded. They are generally initiated into either the Saiva or Sâkta sect, and specially worship Dulha Deo and one Sinha Bâba, who was a Nânak Shâhi faqîr. To him is made a burnt offering of sugar and butter once a year; the butter

must be of the weight of one pice and the sugar one quarter pice. A goat is also sometimes offered in the house court-yard. The priests of the clan are known as the Pânres of Machhiâwan, who have come with them from their original settlement. Their death ceremonies are such as are performed by the higher castes. They abstain from spirits, and their women are kept under careful control. They eat the flesh of deer and goats, and all kinds of fish except the *gûnch* or Gangetic shark. Brâhmans will eat *pakki* from their hands, and they will eat *kachchi* cooked by their Brâhman spiritual guides. They smoke only with their clansmen. Lower castes, like Kahârs and Nâis, will eat both *kachchi* and *pakki* from their hands.

The criminal Bâwariyas.

12. The Western Bâwariyas of these Provinces are best known to District Officers as a criminal tribe. When they go on their predatory excursions, which extend over a large part of Northern India, they usually assume the garb of faqîrs, and the only way of finding them out is by a peculiar necklace of small wooden beads, which they all wear, and by a kind of gold pin which they wear fixed to their front teeth.[1] It seems, however, doubtful whether this last test is always conclusive. In cases of doubt their mouths should be examined, for under their tongues a hollow is formed by constant pressure from their younger days, in which they can secure from fifteen to twenty silver bits. The women are believed to possess secrets for charms and medicines, and sell the roots and herbs which they collect in the jungles. They are said to be expert in making patchwork quilts, which they sell. Whenever they wander they sleep on a bed and not on the ground. One peculiarity about their thieving is that, like the Alâgiris of Madras,[2] when they enter a house they take with them some dry grain, which they throw about in the dark, so as to be able by the rattle to ascertain the position of brass vessels and other metal articles. In Central India they are said to be greatly wanting in intelligence and timid in their intercourse with their fellowmen. They are there divided into five tribes—the Râthaur or Mewâra, Chauhân, Sawandiya, Korbiyâr, Kodiyâr; and each tribe has a separate hunting ground. They are governed by Chiefs called Hauliya, who attain their office by descent.

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[1] *Report, Inspector General of Police, N.-W. P.*, 1868, p. 13.
[2] Mullaly, *Notes on Criminal Tribes*, 10.

"Game is divided into three shares—one for the god of the wilds, one for the god of the river, and the remainder is divided among those present at the capture. At the Holi they all assemble at the Hauliya's residence, when he collects his income, one rupee per head. For the first five years after the beard first appears, it and the hair are cut once a year; but ever after that they wear both unshorn, and their long shaggy locks add to their uncouth appearance. Few attain sixty years of age, and ten is the greatest number of children they have known one woman to bear. They call themselves a branch of the Dhângar or shepherd class.[1]"

Distribution of Bâwariyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindu.	Musalmân.	Total.
Muzaffarnagar	1,107	...	1,107
Agra	40	...	40
Mirzapur	1,333	...	1,333
Gorakhpur	1	...	1
Tarâi	9	...	9
Ballia	...	239	239
Total .	2,490	239	2,729

Beldâr.[2]—(One who works with the *bel* or mattock.)—A general term for the aggregate of low Hindu tribes who make their living by earth-work. But, besides these, there appears to be a real endogamous group of this name found chiefly in Bareilly, Gorakhpur, Basti, and Pilibhît. Mr. Risley[3] describes under the same name a wandering Dravidian caste of earth-workers and navvies in Bihâr and Western Bengal, many of whom are employed in the coal mines of Râniganj and Barâkar. "Both men and women labour, the former digging the earth and the latter removing it in baskets carried on the head. The Beldârs regard this mode of carrying earth as distinctive of themselves, and will on no account carry earth in baskets slung from the shoulders." Whatever may be the

[1] Balfour, *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Vol. XIII.
[2] From a note by Pandit Râm Bakhsh Chaube of Gorakhpur.
[3] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 86.

case in Bengal, in these provinces at least, the practice of carrying earth and other burdens on the head and not on the back or shoulders is habitual among all the castes who do this kind of labour.

Internal organization.

2. The Beldârs of these provinces classified themselves at the last Census under three sub-castes—Bâchhal, Chauhân, and Kharot. The two former are, of course, well known Râjput tribes. The Kharot appear to take their name from *khar* (Sanskrit, *khata*), "grass." They are described as a tribe of mat-makers in Basti, and a number have entered themselves separately at the last enumeration. Besides these, among the most important local sub-castes, we find the Mahul and Orh of Bareilly; the Desi, Kharêbind, and Sarwariya, or "dwellers beyond the Sarju," of Gorakhpur; and the Kharêbind and Maskhauwa, or "flesh-eaters," of Basti. The Census returns give 186 sub-castes of the usual type. Some taken from the names of existing well known tribes, such as Bachgoti, Bâchhal, Baheliya, Bindwâr, Chauhân, Dikhit, Gaharwâr, Gaura, Gautam, Ghosi, Kurmi, Luniya, Orh, Râjput, Thâkur; others, local terms of the usual type, like Agarwâl, Agrabansi, Ajudhyabâsi, Bhadauriya, Dehliwâl, Gangapâri, Gorakhpuri, Kanaujiya, Kashiwâla, Purabiya, Sarwariya, and Uttarâha. The Beldârs have no definite traditions of their origin, save that they were once Râjputs who were compelled by some Râja to work as navvies, and were in consequence degraded. There can, however, be little doubt that they are an occupational offshoot from the great Luniya, Orh, or Bind tribe, who are certainly to a large extent of non-Aryan origin.

Occupation and status.

3. Besides their trade of doing earth-work, they also make their living by fishing. They are very fond of field rats, which they dig out of the rice fields after the harvest is over, and boil down with the grain which they have collected in their granaries. They also eat pork, but in spite of this it is reported from Gorakhpur that Brâhmans and Kshatriyas drink water from their hands. Their widows marry by the *sagâi* form, and a man may discard his wife for adultery; but if she marries her paramour, the council compels him to repay the original cost of her marriage to her first husband.

Religion.

4. To the east of the province they worship the Pânchonpîr, to whom they offer a turban (*patuka*) and a sheet (*patau*) made of coarse country cloth, and occasionally a fowl. The sheets before being offered are marked

by a streak of red. Another form of offering is what is known as *kâra*, which is made of flour and *urad* pulse. Some worship Mahâdeva once a year in the month of Phâlgun or at the Sivarâtri.

Distribution of Beldârs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bâchhal.	Chauhân.	Kharot.	Others.	Musalmâns.	Total.
Sahâranpur . .	...	...	...	32	5	37
Muzaffarnagar .	...	...	...	...	29	29
Mathura . .	...	...	...	2	...	2
Etâwah . .	...	...	...	222	...	222
Bareilly . .	5,088	...	...	748	...	6,436
Budâun . .	...	...	...	17	...	17
Morâdâbâd . .	...	...	...	160	...	160
Shâhjahânpur .	62	350	...	369	...	781
Pilibhît . .	627	149	...	1,579	...	2,355
Cawnpur . .	...	...	...	56	...	56
Fatehpur . .	...	...	...	96	...	96
Bânda . . .	...	...	...	148	3	151
Hamîrpur . .	...	...	...	212	...	212
Allahâbâd . .	...	...	...	1	2	3
Jhânsi . . .	...	...	...	246	...	246
Jâlaun . .	...	...	...	586	...	586
Lalitpur . .	...	...	...	248	...	248
Ghâzipur . .	...	...	...	2	...	2
Ballia . . .	...	...	...	35	...	35
Gorakhpur . .	...	...	9,782	5,463	3	15,248
Basti . . .	...	...	3,623	3,162	...	6,785
Azamgarh . .	...	...	...	31	1	32
Tarâi . . .	973	...	...	42	...	1,015
Lucknow . .	...	...	...	69	...	69

Distribution of Beldârs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Bâchhal.	Chauhân.	Kharot.	Others.	Musalmâns.	Total.
Unâo . . .	...	...	...	79	5	84
Râê Bareli . .	...	...	...	122	2	124
Sîtapur . .	...	59	...	115	...	174
Hardoi . . .	...	...	...	216	...	216
Kheri . . .	...	...	...	336	...	336
Faizâbâd . .	...	...	...	110	...	110
Gonda . . .	...	...	...	170	...	170
Bahrâich .	...	...	...	226	...	226
Sultânpur . .	...	...	...	148	1	149
Partâbgarh . .	...	16	...	92	10	118
Bârabanki . .	...	520	...	249	...	769
Total	7,350	1,094	13,405	15,389	61	37,299

Belwâr, Bilwâr.—A tribe in Oudh of whom no satisfactory account has been received. According to Mr. Nesfield, they take their name from *bela*, "a purse"; but this is very uncertain. They are said to deal in grain and cultivate.

2. According to the last Census their chief sub-caste is the Sanâdh. In Kheri the chief sub-castes are Baghel, Bhonda, and Gaur.

Distribution of the Belwâr according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Sanadh.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	42	42
Etâwah	7	35	42
Lucknow	...	22	22
Sîtapur	1,255	793	2,048
Hardoi	605	146	751
Kheri	1,269	1,412	2,681
Bahrâich	...	608	608
Total .	3,136	3,058	6,194

Benawa.—("Without provisions," "destitute.")—A class of Muhammadan faqîrs, the chief of the Beshara or unorthodox orders. They are said to be followers of Khwâja Hasan Basri. Mr. Maclagan[1] says:—"The term is sometimes apparently applied in a loose manner to Qâdiri and Chishti faqîrs, but is properly applicable only to a very inferior set of beggars, men who wear patched garments and live apart. They will beg for anything except food, and in begging they will use the strongest language, and the stronger the language the more pleased are the persons from whom they beg. Many of the offensive names borne by villages in the Gujrânwâla District are attributed to mendicants of this order, who have been denied an alms. The proper course is to meet a Benawa beggar with gibes and put him on his mettle, for he prides himself on his powers of repartee, and every Benawa wears a thong of leather, which he has to unloose when beaten in reply, and it is a great source of shame for him to unloose this thong" (*tasma khol dena*).

Distribution of the Benawas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	8	Bânda . . .	8
Saháranpur . .	2,347	Lalitpur . . .	4
Muzaffarnagar . .	2,620	Benares . . .	5
Meerut . . .	1,620	Ghâzipur . . .	212
Bulandshahr . . .	24	Gorakhpur . . .	84
Mathura . . .	63	Basti . . .	1,134
Agra	31	Tarâi . . .	293
Farrukhâbâd . . .	10	Râé Bareli . . .	45
Mainpuri . . .	8	Sîtapur . . .	13
Bareilly . . .	451	Faizâbad . . .	62
Bijnor	655	Bahraich . . .	10
Morâdâbâd . . .	755	Sultânpur . . .	201
Shâhjahânpur . .	32	Partâbgarh . . .	5
Pilibhît . . .	8	Bârabanki . . .	32
		Total .	10,735

[1] *Panjâb Census Report*, 196.

Benbans.—("Of the stock of Râja Vena.")—A small sept of Râjputs in Mirzapur and Rîwa. The sept is interesting as an example of the development in quite recent times of a new Râjput sept. There seems to be little doubt that only a couple of generations ago they were Kharwârs, a purely Dravidian tribe, and have developed into Râjputs since they obtained the chiefship of that part of the country. The present Râja has now married into a respectable Chandel family, and his claim to be a pure bred Râjput will doubtless soon cease to be disputed.

Beriya,[1] **Bediya.**—A caste of vagrants found in various parts of the Province. They are very closely allied if not identical with the Sânsi, Kanjar, Hâbûra, Bhântu, etc. In Bengal the term is applied to a number of vagrant, gypsy-like groups, of whom it is difficult to say whether they can properly be described as castes. Of these Bengal Beriyas a very full account has been given by Bâbu Rajendra Lâla Mitra.[2] According to him, they show no tendency to obesity, and are noted for "a light, elastic, wiry make, very uncommon in the people of this country. In agility and hardiness they stand unrivalled. The men are of a brownish colour like the bulk of Bengalis, but never black. The women are of lighter complexion, and generally well formed; some of them have considerable claims to beauty, and for a race so rude and primitive in their habits as the Bediyas, there is a sharpness in the features of their women which we see in no other aboriginal race in India. Like the gypsies of Europe, they are noted for the symmetry of their limbs; but their offensive habits, dirty clothing, and filthy professions, give them a repulsive appearance, which is heightened by the reputation they have of kidnapping children and frequenting burial grounds and places of cremation. Their eyes and hair are always black, but their stature varies much in different individuals. They are a mixed race, and many outcastes join them. Some of them call themselves Mâl, and live by snake-catching and sale of herbs. Though known as Bediyas, they keep distinct, and do not intermarry or mix with the pure Bediyas, who, unlike European gypsies, keep themselves distinct. They seldom build houses, and take to

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[1] Based on notes by M. Gopâl Prasâd, Naib Tahsildar, Phaphund, Etâwah District, and the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Farrukhâbâd.

[2] *Memoirs, Anthropological Society of London*, III., 122, *sqq*.

agriculture, but wander about with a few miserable wigwams. Like all gypsies, they dress like the people of the country. They cook in a pipkin in common. Their women and children eat promiscuously, except when placed among Bengalis, when the women eat separately. They eat whatever they can get, and nothing comes amiss to them, whether it be a rotten jackal or a piece of beef or mutton.

2. "Familiar with the use of bows and arrows, and great adepts in laying snares and traps, they are seldom without large supplies of game and flesh of wild animals of all kinds. A variety of birds they keep dried for medical purposes; mungooses, squirrels, and flying foxes they eat with avidity as articles of luxury. Spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs are indulged in to a large extent, and chiefs of clans assume the title of Bhangi or drinkers of hemp (*bhang*) as a mark of honour." They practise all the usual gypsy trades. "In lying, thieving, and knavery he is not a whit inferior to his brother of Europe, and he practises everything that enables him to pass an easy life without submitting to any law of civilized Government or the amenities of social life." The women deal in charms for exorcising the devil, love phylters, palmistry, cupping with buffalo horns, administering moxas and drugs for spleen and rheumatism. She has a charm for extracting worms from carious teeth by repeating indecent verses. They are the only tattooers. At home she makes mats of palm leaves, while her lord alone cooks. Bediyas have no talent for music; Nats and Banjâras have. Firdausi says this was the reason they were exiled to Persia. Bediya women are even more circumspect than European gypsies. If she does not return before the jackal's cry is heard in the evening, she is subject to severe punishment. It is said that a *faux pas* among her own kindred is not considered reprehensible. Certain it is that no Bediyâni has ever been known to be at fault with any one not of her own caste. They are fond husbands, kind parents, affectionate children, and unswerving friends. Attachment to their nationality is extreme, and no Bediya has ever been known to denounce his race. Whenever a Bediya is apprehended by a police officer, his clansmen do their best to release him, and if condemned to imprisonment or death, they invariably support his family. He is a Hindu or Musalmân according to the population he lives in. Some are Deists, some Kabîrpanthis, or Sikhs; some take the disguise of Jogis, Faqîrs, Darveshes, Santons, etc.

Hence he is called Panchpîri. His dead are usually buried, and his marriage contract is solemnized over country arrack without the intervention of priests, the only essential being the consent of the elders of the clan. Marriage is restricted to his own clan; but kidnapped children brought up in camp are not prohibited. He is very sparing of ceremony; in reply to the exhortations of the bride's relatives to treat her kindly, he simply declares,—'This woman is my wedded wife,' marking her head at the same time with red lead. The bride replies,—'This man is my husband.' Incestuous marriages are believed to be common among them. It is said that all Bediyas, whether professing Hinduism or Muhammadanism, worship Kâli. Like the gypsies, they never go to court. Their chiefs (sardârs) have supreme power, and manage their affairs with the help of tribal councils (*panchâyat*). The punishments are fine, stripes with a shoe, expulsion from caste. The fines are spent in liquor. The chief is generally hereditary, and he is invested with authority over his clansmen, wherever they may be located. This is possible, as the Bediya, though a vagrant, is much attached to his birthplace, and often returns there."

The Beriyas of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

3. The Beriyas of these Provinces are in a much more degraded condition than their brethren in Bengal. At the last Census they recorded themselves under three main sub-castes—Chauhân and Raghubansi, the titles of well known Râjput sub-divisions, and Kâmchor or "loafers." But in the Central Duâb, like so many of the tribes of the same social rank, they pretend to have seven sub-castes. By one enumeration these are given as Khâlkhur, Chhâhari, Bhains, Gunnar, Nâritor, Rattu, and Kachhâr. Another list adds Mahish. The complete returns show 250 sections of the Hindu, and 12 of the Muhammadan branch. These are of the usual type, many taken from the names of existing castes, such as Bais, Banya, Bangâli, Chauhân, Chhatri, Gaur, Ghosiya, Janwâr, Kachhwâha, Kânhpuriya, Raghubansi, Râwat, Teli, and Thâkur; others of local origin like Amrapuriya, Baiswâri, Bhadauriya, Deswâl, Jaiswâr, Mainpuriya, Multânwâri; others again common to them and similar vagrant and prostitute tribes, such as Brijbâsi, Dhânuk, Gandharb, Gidhmâr ("kite-killers"), Jangali, Kuchbandhiya, Kapariya, Karnâtaki, Nat, Paturiya, Râjnat, and Tawâif. They believe themselves indigenous in the Central Duâb, and profess to have some unexplained connection, like their kinsmen the

Hâbûras, with the old ruined city of Nohkhera, in the north of Pargana Jalesar, in the Etah District. All the camps (*gol*) which frequent that part of the country meet there during the rainy season, and hold tribal councils at which marriages and all matters affecting the caste are settled. Regular marriages séldom occur among them, because nearly all the girls are reserved for prostitution, and the men keep concubines drawn from any fairly respectable caste. So far is this the rule, that in Farrukhâbâd, it is alleged that if a man marry a girl of the tribe, he is put out of caste; and in Etâwah, if a man marry a girl who has been prostituted, he is obliged to pay a fine to the tribal council. This is a good example of what Sir John Lubbock[1] calls "Communal marriage." "In many cases," he says, "the exclusive possession of a wife could only be legally acquired by a temporary recognition of the pre-existing communal rights." While, however, concubinage is a tribal institution, connections with a woman of the menial tribes, such as Chamâr, Bhangi, Kori, or Dhânuk, are prohibited; and a man offending in this way is expelled from the caste. The only ceremony in selecting a concubine is the presenting to her a suit of clothes, and eating with her and the clansmen. There seems, however, to be an increasing tendency towards the more respectable form of marriage, and some of them not only profess to have a law of exogamy to this extent that they will not give their boys to, or take a bride from, a family with which within memory they have been allied by marriage, but they also pretend to allow the levirate under the usual restrictions, and permit widow marriage. When they do marry in the caste continence is compulsory on the wife, and her husband can put her away for infidelity proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council.

Domestic ceremonies.

4. During pregnancy the mother generally vows that if she gets over her confinement in safety, she will have the head of the child shaved at some shrine. She is attended at delivery by the Chamârin midwife, and after that by the women of her family. All Beriyas do the *chhathi* or sixth day ceremony after delivery; some do the *barahi* or twelfth day rite as well, and if the child be a boy, feed the tribesmen. Adoption is common among them; usually a sister's son

[1] *Origin of Civilization*, 126; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 72, *sqq.*

is adopted. There is no ceremony except the distribution of sweets to the kinsmen, and the formal announcement that the adoption has taken place. There is no initiation rite for males; but when a girl reaches puberty, and is prostituted for the first time, the money she earns is spent in drinking and in feeding the other unmarried girls of the tribe, while Satyâ Nârâyana is worshipped, and verses in honour of him are recited. In a marriage of a virgin girl of the caste, which is very unusual, they follow the orthodox form; when they get hold of some other woman or of a widow there is no ceremony except feeding the clansmen, and until this is done the husband cannot eat the food cooked by her.

5. The caste is in the intermediate stage between burial and cremation. In Farrukhâbâd they touch the left foot of the corpse with fire and then bury it. In Etâwah they cremate the dead and collect the ashes, which they put into an earthen pot, and then bury this in the ground, raising over it a small earthen platform. When they can afford it, they offer at this place some cakes in honour of the dead, which they subsequently consume themselves. They do not employ the Mahâbrâhman; all the death ceremonies are done by the sister's son or son-in-law of the deceased. They have no regular *srâddha*; but once a year, on any convenient date, they offer up cakes in the name of their dead ancestors in general, and invite a few of the brethren to a feast.

Religion.

6. Their tribal deities are Devi, Kâliji, and Jwâlamukhi. Many of them also worship a deity called Sayyid, which they understand to represent Muhammad, the prophet. Others visit the shrine of Madâr Sâhib. They seem to depend more on ancestor worship than on any other form of belief. They hardly employ Brâhmans at all except for giving omens at marriages, and it is, of course, only the very lowest Brâhmans who serve them.

Occupation and social status.

7. The Beriya, as we have seen, supports himself to a large extent by prostituting his women. His women loaf about villages and procure information about valuable property for their male relations. He is a pilferer and petty thief, and will steal crops from fields and any uncared-for property which he can find lying about. He makes almost a speciality of stealing the clothes and brass vessels of men who labour in the fields, and a camp of these people is such a pest in a neighbourhood that they would meet with short shrift from

the villagers if they were not protected by some landowners, who intrigue with their women, and by goldsmiths and others, who receive stolen property from them. They have also been known to commit more serious crime and attack camel carts and wedding parties at night. They usually begin the attack on a travelling party with a shower of stones, and if this fail to compel them to abandon their goods, they assail them with their bludgeons. In Farrukhâbâd the Gunnar sub-caste carry the regular Kanjar spud (*khanti*,) with which they dig out young jackals and pass them off as wolf cubs for the sake of the Government reward. They have a vague tradition that they were once Râjputs, and were forced to take to their present means of living by the Muhammadans after the siege of Chithor. But their appearance and physique certainly indicate that they are a branch of the Indian gypsy race, and closely allied to the Sânsiya and his kinsfolk. The women who are prostitutes salute with the word *salâm*; those who are married use *Râm! Râm!* When they take an oath they turn to the river and swear by mother Ganges. They are steady believers in the demoniacal theory of disease. When a person falls sick they call in a wizard (*syâna*), who smokes a *huqqa*, and with a few incoherent words waves a broom over the patient, and thus scares the ghost. When a patient is attacked by the Evil-eye, they put some thorns of the *babûl* (*acacia arabica*) in an earthen pot face downwards; then a shoe is waved over it, and they call out—"Evil glance! leave the sick man!" They eat mutton, goat's flesh, and pork; not beef, fowls, fish, vermin, or the leavings of other people. But there is reason to believe that when in camps by themselves they are much more catholic in their diet. No respectable caste will eat from their hands, they will eat both *kachchi* and *pakki* from the hands of all but the very lowest menials.

Distribution of the Beriyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Chauhân.	Kâmchor.	Raghubansi.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Sahâranpur . . .	...	...	...	...	11	11
Meerut	...	...	...	...	6	6
Bulandshahr . . .	...		...	...	3	3

Distribution of the Beriyas according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Chauhân.	Kâmchor.	Raghubansi.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Aligarh	...	...	...	7	1	8
Mathura . . .	...	...	...	2	...	2
Agra	59	140	...	926	96	1,221
Farrukhâbâd . . .	24	8	25	662	22	741
Mainpuri . . .	...	32	49	600	...	681
Etâwah	26	...	...	779	...	805
Etah	1	39	...	156	...	196
Bijnor	...	...	...	9	1	10
Morâdâbâd . . .	...	...	...	10	...	10
Cawnpur . . .	57	...	...	1,033	...	1,090
Fatehpur . . .	90	...	...	631	...	721
Bânda	54	...	...	190	...	244
Hamîrpur . . .	53	...	...	368	...	421
Allahâbâd . . .	7	...	...	1,015	2	1,024
Jhânsi	14	...	..	113	...	127
Jâlaun	4	...	...	38	...	42
Lalitpur . . .	1	...	...	147	4	152
Mirzapur . . .	19	...	...	...	...	19
Jaunpur . . .	...	...	...	108	...	108
Ghâzipur . . .	...	...	...	...	4	4
Gorakhpur . . .	...	...	...	19	...	19
Basti	4	...	...	83	701	788
Azamgarh . . .	...	...	...	89	...	89
Lucknow . . .	...	...	...	192	9	201
Unâo	171	...	...	90	12	273
Râê Bareli . . .	794	...	...	676	1	1,471
Hardoi . . .	...	...	...	90	...	90

Distribution of the Beriyas according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Chauhân.	Kâmchor.	Raghubansi.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Faizâbâd . . .	227	...	...	455	2	684
Gonda	...	...	...	30	...	30
Bahrâich . . .	48	...	...	105	7	160
Sultânpur . . .	773	...	...	709	2	1,484
Partâbgarh . . .	516	8	...	537	...	1,061
Bârabanki . . .	856	...	...	452	9	1,317
Total .	3,798	227	74	10,321	893	15,318.

Berwâr, Birwâr.—A Râjput sept found in the Districts of Ghâzipur, Azamgarh, and Faizâbâd. In Ghâzipur they say that they are emigrants from the neighbourhood of Delhi, and take their name from Bernagar, their leading village. They are supposed to have come under the auspices of the Narauliyas, whom they assisted to expel the Cheros.[1] In Azamgarh they are said to be both Râjputs and Bhuînhârs, and not to rank high among either. Each set ignores the origin of, or any connection with, the other. The Bhuînhârs can only say that they came from the westward. They Chhatris say they are Tomars, and were led from Bernagar, near Delhi, to Azamgarh, by a chief named Garak Deo, who lived between 1393 and 1512 of the Sambat era (1536—1455 A D.). In Faizâbâd they call themselves Bais of Dundiyakhera. The Chhatri and Bhuînhâr branches are of the same origin, as at marriages and other feasts they refuse to take from their hosts or offer to their guests broken cakes of pulse (*bara*). The origin of the custom is said to be that at a feast where a number of the Berwars had been invited by another clan, their treacherous hosts, on the pass-word *bara khandâ chalâo* (*khanda* means "a sword" as well as "broken"), slaughtered the Birwârs. Their name is possibly connected with this custom.[2] The Brâhman ancestor of the sept is said to have come from Kanauj; but its different

[1] Oldham, *Memo*, 61, *sq.*
[2] *Settlement Report*, 30.

branches are not unanimous as to his name or pedigree, or how they came to Azamgarh.[1]

Bhadauriya.—An important sept of Râjputs who take their name from the village of Bhadâwar, near Ater, south of the Jumna. The eastern branch have some traditions which point to a Meo origin;[2] but according to Sir H. M. Elliot [3] they are a branch of the Chauhâns; but the Chauhâns are disposed to deny this relationship, now that for motives of convenience the two tribes have begun to intermarry. They are divided into the six clans of Athbhaiya, Kulhiya, Mainu, Taseli, Chandraseniya, and Râwat." He further remarks: —"The high claims which have been put forward in favour of the family are somewhat unreasonable, and were indeed entirely needless, as its respectability for many years past has been unquestionable. Bhatûla, or bread made from the grain of *arhar*, *chana*, and *mûng*, is notorious for its hardness, and is, therefore, seldom eaten by those who can afford to grow or purchase the better grains. It is said to have been the cause of the elevation of the Bhadauriyas, and the story, absurd as it may appear, is commonly believed in the neighbourhood of Bhadâwar, and is not denied by the Bhadauriyas themselves. One of the Bhadauriya chiefs, Gopâl Sinh, went to pay his respects to the King, Muhammad Shâh. The chief had very large eyes, so much so, as to attract the attention of the King, who asked him how he obtained them. The chief, who was a wit, replied that in his district nothing but *urhar* was grown, and that from the constant practice of straining at swallowing *bhatûla*, his eyes had nearly started out of his head. The King was pleased at his readiness, and bestowed upon him other Parganas in which he could grow the finer grains. The immediate cause of their aggrandisement is obscure, but it is as likely to have been a pair of large eyes as the capture of a fort. It is clear that their political importance lasted no longer than for a few years at the beginning of the last century; that their illustrious lineage even now invests them with consideration in the eyes of the surrounding Râjas, who allow the Bhadauriya to sit higher than themselves; who receive from him the investiture, or rather impress of the *tilak*, who confess that he alone can cover with grain the *lingam* at Batesar (the Râna of Gohag having tried twenty-one

[1] *Settlement Report*, 4.

[2] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 463.

[3] *Supplementary Glossary*, *s. v.*

maunds in vain); and that, though influential, they are not of that high importance which they would arrogate to themselves. It is to be feared also that they are much addicted to infanticide; so that when we take all these circumstances into consideration, there seems some reason to acknowledge that the indiscriminate bounty of the British Government might perhaps have been more worthily bestowed." The last Census Returns give some colour to the supposition that infanticide prevails among them. There are 16,312 males to 12,715 females.

2. Of the clans above enumerated the Chandraseniya, Kulhiya, Athbhaiya, and Râwat marry girls of the Chauhân, Kachhwâha, Râthaur, Chandel, Sirnet, Panwâr, Gautam, Raghubansi, Gaharwâr, Tomar, and Gahlot septs. The Taseli intermarry with Râjputs of rank inferior to these. The high class Bhadauriyas give their daughters to the Chauhân, Kachhwâha, and Râthaur septs.

Distribution of the Bhadauriya Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	4	Pilibhit	257
Meerut	54	Cawnpur	2,533
Aligarh	62	Fatehpur	933
Mathura	54	Bânda	169
Agra	4,034	Hamîrpur . . .	116
Farrukhâbâd . . .	1,490	Allahâbâd . . .	421
Mainpuri	1,936	Jhânsi	371
Etâwah	5,387	Jâlaun	596
Etah	239	Lalitpur . . .	36
Bareilly	393	Benares	363
Budâun	300	Ballia	232
Morâdâbâd . . .	165	Gorakhpur . . .	68
Shâhjahânpur . . .	1,130	Basti	19

Distribution of the Bhadauriya Rájputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Azamgarh . . .	93	Faizábád	50
Lucknow	162	Gonda	340
Unáo	521	Bahráich	516
Ráé Bareli . .	1,417	Sultánpur	910
Sítapur	1,112	Partábgarh . . .	366
Hardoi	609	Bárabanki . . .	298
Kheri . . .	1,266		
		Total .	29,027

Bhagat.—(Sanskrit, *bhakta*, "a worshipper.")—A term usually applied to men of any caste who take a vow of abstinence from meat, wine, etc. This they usually do as they advance in life, and wear a necklace of beads as a mark of the vow. It is also applied to a Sákti sect, not Vaishnavas, as the ordinary Bhagats are, who are worshippers of Devi. Some of them eat meat, but abstain from wine. To the west of the province they are chiefly devotees of the Bajesri Devi of Kángra, whose temple was plundered by Mahmúd of Ghazni and Fíroz Tughlaq. At Jwálamukhi, in the same District, is another and equally famous temple, where jets of gas proceeding from the ground are kept ever burning, and the crowds of pilgrims provide a livelihood for a profligate community of Gusáins and Bhojkis. "The days most holy to Devi are the first nine days of the moon in the months of Chait and Kuár. Some persons will fast in the name of Devi on the eighth lunar day (*ashtami*) of every month, and perform special ceremonies on that day. Sometimes they will light lamps of flour, and when a Bráhman has read the Devipátha, will prostrate themselves before the lamps. Sometimes it is customary to distribute rice and sweetmeats on this day to unmarried girls; and goldsmiths will often close their shops in honour of the day. The greatest Ashtamis of all, however, are those in the months above mentioned; and of the two

great yearly festivals, the Naurâtra is the greatest, following as it does immediately after the completion of the annual *śrâddha* or commemoration of the dead. It is the custom in some parts of the country for worshippers of Devi on the first day of this festival to sow barley and water it, and keep a lamp burning by it, and on the eighth day to cut it and light a sacrificial fire (*homa*), breaking their fast next day."[1]

2. The name is also applied to a class of dancing girls in the Agra Division.

Distribution of the Bhagats according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	1	Bareilly	14
Farrukhâbâd . . .	185	Budâun	11
Mainpuri	7	Bânda	4
Etâwah	12	Benares	124
Etah	127		
		Total .	485

Bhâlê Sultân.—("Lords of the spear:" Sanskrit, *Bhâla*, "a kind of arrow or spear.")—According to the tribal tradition in Sultânpur,[2] between two and three hundred years ago Râê Barâr, son of Amba Râê, brother of the then Râja of Morârmau, commanded a troop of cavalry recruited entirely from the Bais clan in the Imperial service, and was deputed to exterminate the troublesome Bhars in the Isauli Pargana. Having accomplished his task he returned to Delhi and presented himself at the head of his troop before the Emperor, who, struck with their manly bearing, exclaimed, "*Ao, Bhâlê Sultân,*" "Come, spears of the Sultân." Thence they adopted the name. Another story is that it was as link-bearers (*Bâri*), and not the lance, which they so dexterously wielded, and that they were made Râjputs by Tilok Chand as a reward for their diligence. A third account connects them with the Balla, who are included in the royal races and were lords in Saurâshtra. "But this lays stress

[1] Maclagan, *Punjab Census Report*, 110.
[2] *Settlement Report*, 179, *sqq*.

on the first factor of the name, and leaves the other, an equally perplexing one, altogether unexplained. That it is a corruption there is little doubt. The Bhâlê Sultâns are either not mentioned by Abul Fazl at all, or they are the Bais Naumuslim of Sâtanpur. In either case the suspicion is raised that they did not take their modern name till after the time of Akbar, and, if so, it hardly bears the ring of Imperial coinage. 'From this time' (1507 A. D.), says Bâbar, 'I order that I should be styled Padshah,' and from him downwards this, and not Sultan, appears to have been the title affected by the Mughal Emperors. It is very probable that the Bhâlê Sultâns are the Naumuslim Bais of Sâtanpur, for they now occupy that locality, and Palhan Deo, great grandson of Râê Barâr, is said to have been converted to Islâm in Shîr Shâh's time; and the only thing against this view is that the Gandeo Bais may have held territory thus far east, and as they, too, had a Musalmân branch, they would then answer equally well to the description given."

Bhâlê Sultân of the North-West Provinces.

2. The Bulandshahr[1] branch, according to one story, claim descent from Sidhrâo Jai Sinh, a Solankhi Râjput of Parpatan in Gujarât. After the defeat of Prithivi Râja, Sawai Sinh, the ancestor of the family, obtained the title of Bhâlê Sultân, or "Lord of the lance," from Shahâbuddîn Ghori. Another story is that they are descended from Sârang Deo, a nephew of the Râja of Gujarât, who took service under Prithivi Râja of Delhi, with whom he was distantly connected, and perished in the war against Kanauj, when his descendant was rewarded with lands in Bulandshahr. It was his grandson, Hamîr Sinh, who took service with the Râja of Kanauj, and obtained through him and Shahâbuddîn the title of Bhâla Sultân. The seventh in descent from him, Kirat Sinh, distinguished himself in the campaign of Ghayâsuddin against the Meos, and got their lands. The seventh in descent from him, Khân Chand, became a Musalmân to please the Muhammadan Governor under Khizr Khân, the protegee of Timûr.

The Oudh branch.

3. In Faizâbâd[2] the Bhâlê Sultân claim descent from Râo Mardan Sinh of Bais, of Dundiya Khera, who was a horse-dealer by profession. He chanced to visit Gajanpur, in Isauli Pargana, of the Sultânpur District, where there was a fort of the Râjbhars, whom he overcame. His

[1] *Census Report*, 1865, I., Appendix 19; Râja Lachmann Singh, *Memo.*, 158.
[2] *Settlement Report*, 305.

son, Râo Barâr, entered the service of the King of Delhi, and as he was a good horseman and clever spearsman, he obtained the title of Bhâla Sultân. One of his descendants, Baram Deo, ambitious of obtaining the title of Râja, became Khânzâda to the King of Delhi, and since then his descendants have been called Khânzâda. In Râê Bareli the tradition runs that they were Ahîrs who were raised to the rank of Râjputs by Tilok Chand.

4. In Sultânpur they are said to marry girls of the septs of the Bhâratipur Chauhâns, Kath Bais and Kath Bisen, and to give girls to the Tilokchandi Bais, Chauhâns of Mainpuri, Sûrajbansis of Mahul, Gautams of Nagar, Bisens of Majhauli, Gahlot, Sombansi, Râjkumâr, Bandhalgoti, and Bachgoti. In Faizâbâd they marry girls of the Gargbansi and Raghubansi septs, and give girls to the Sombansi, Bachgoti, and Bais.

Distribution of the Bhâlê Sultân Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Sahâranpur	17	27	44
Meerut	20	...	20
Bulandshahr	6,370	4,790	11,160
Agra	59	3	62
Farrukhâbâd	9	6	15
Mainpuri	36	...	36
Budâun	11	...	11
Shâhjahânpur	...	9	9
Pilibhît	19	4	23
Cawnpur	11	75	86
Fatehpur	3	...	3
Bânda	...	1	1
Allahâbâd	324	18	342
Lalitpur	2	2	4
Benares	15	86	101
Jaunpur	25	3	28

Distribution of the Bhâlê Sultân Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Ghâzipur	...	7	7
Gorakhpur	35	64	99
Basti	155	53	208
Azamgarh	122	29	151
Lucknow	17	283	300
Unâo	5	38	43
Râê Bareli	377	372	749
Sîtapur	20	23	43
Kheri	3	108	111
Faizâbâd	757	687	1,444
Gonda	406	352	758
Bahrâich	108	271	379
Sultânpur	8,016	4,607	12,623
Partâbgarh	49	17	66
Bârabanki	329	735	1,064
Total	17,320	12,670	29,990

Bhând, Bhânr.[1]—(Sanskrit, *Bhanda*, a jester.)—The class of story-tellers, buffoons, and jesters. They are sometimes known by the Muhammadan title of Naqqâl, or actor. The Bhând is sometimes employed in the courts of Râjas and native gentlemen of rank, where, at entertainments, he amuses the company with his buffoonery and imitations of European and Native manners, much of which is of a very coarse nature. The Bhând is quite separate from, and of a lower professional rank than, the Bahrûpiya. They appear now to be practically all Muhammadans, but retain numerous Hindu usages. There are two recognised endogamous sub-castes—

[1] Chiefly based on enquiries at Mirzapur and short notes from Munshi Bhagwati Dayâl Sinh, Tahsildâr, Chhibramau, Farrukhâbâd, and Bâbu Chhote Lâl, Archæological Survey, Lucknow.

the Chenr, which seems to mean little (Hindi, *chenra*), and the Kashmîri. The former trace their origin to the time of Taimûr-lang, who, on the death of his son, gave himself over to mourning for twelve years. Then one Sayyid Hasan, a courtier of the Emperor, composed a humorous poem in Arabic which gained him the title of Bhânr. Sayyid Hasan is regarded as the founder of the caste. Though he was a Sayyid, the present Bhânrs are either Shaikhs or Mughals; and the difference of faith, Sunni and Shiah, is a bar to intermarriage. The Kashmîri Bhânrs are said to be of quite recent origin, having been invited from Kashmîr by Nasîr-ud-din Haidar, King of Oudh. The Chenr Bhânrs fix their head-quarters at Karra in Allahâbâd, and Lucknow. In Farrukhâbâd they profess to have twelve-and-a-half sub-divisions, all of which, except the half sub-division, intermarry. Many of these are derived from the names of castes from which they are, or pretend to be, sprung: thus Kaithela (Kâyasth); Bamhaniya (Brâhman); Kamarhas; Ujharha; Banthela; Gujatha (Gûjar); Nonela (Luniya); Karraha (from Karra); Pitarhanda. The Census returns give the sub-caste of the Hindu Bhânrs as Baraha, Nakhatiya, and Shâhpuri, and of the Muhammadan branch as Bakarha, Bhandela, Burkiya, Desi, Gâorâni, Hasanpuri, Harkha, Jaroha, Jaroyân, Kaithla, Kâyasth, Kâniwâla, Kashmîri, Kathiya, Katila, Qawwâl, Kha, Kharya, Khatri, Kheti, Monkhra, Musalmâni, Naqqâl, Naumuslim, Pathân, Patua, Purabiya, Râwat, Sadîqi, Shaikh, and Târâkiya.

2. Girls are married at the age of twelve or fourteen, and unlimited polygamy is allowed. Widows re-marry generally in the family of their late husband, and if a match then is impossible, they marry an outsider, and the levirate in the usual form prevails. A wife can be put away for infidelity, and cannot then marry again in the caste. The marriage ceremonies are conducted in the standard Musalmân form. Bhânrs are generally Sunnis, except in Lucknow, where they are mostly Shiahs, and respect the Pânchonpîr (of whom the most regarded is Ghâzi Miyân) and Sayyid Hasan. To the Pânchonpîr are offered cakes (*malîda*), sharbat, garlands of flowers, and perfumes. Sayyid Hasan receives cakes, sweetmeats, flowers, and perfumes, at any time during the year. Food is offered to the sainted dead at the Shab-i-barât festival. The chief offering consists of the *halwa* sweetmeat, and cakes. The Chenr Bhânrs play on the small drum (*dholak*), and Kashmîris on the drum (*tabla*) and fiddle (*sârangi*). A popular proverb describes the Bhânr to be as

essential at an entertainment as a tiger in a forest,—*Mahfil vîrân jahân Bhânr na bâshad; Jangal vîrân jahân sher na bâshad.* They are notoriously exacting and abusive if offended. A proverb runs,—*Rânr, Bhânr, Sânr, bigré buré,*—"The rage of a widow, a Bhânr, and a bull is terrible." Another classes them with the monkey,—*jaisé Lakkho bandariya vaisé Manva Bhânr*—"Lakkho, the monkey, is like Manva, the actor"—"six of one and half a dozen of the other." Dr. Buchanan quaintly describes them as "impudent fellows who make wry faces, squeak like pigs, bark like dogs, and perform many other ludicrous feats. They also dance and sign, mimicking and turning into ridicule the dancing boys and girls, on whom they likewise pass many jokes, and are employed on great occasions."[1]

Distribution of the Bhânds according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Musalmans.	Total.
Sahâranpur	...	12	12
Muzaffarnagar	...	50	50
Meerut	...	27	27
Bulandshahr	...	167	167
Aligarh	...	105	105
Mathura	...	20	20
Agra	...	180	180
Farrukhâbâd	8	101	109
Mainpuri	...	80	80
Etah	...	112	112
Bareilly	...	23	23
Bijner	...	32	32
Budâun	...	21	21
Morâdâbâd	...	75	75
Shâhjahânpur	...	57	57
Pilibhît	...	11	11

[1] *Eastern India*, II., 248.

Distribution of the Bhânds according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindus.	Musalmans.	Total.
Cawnpur	...	12	12
Fatehpur	...	79	79
Hamîrpur	...	40	40
Allahâbâd	...	52	52
Jhânsi	...	8	8
Jâlaun	...	9	9
Lalitpur	...	9	9
Jaunpur	...	33	33
Ghâzipur	...	84	84
Gorakhpur	...	47	47
Lucknow	...	43	43
Unâo	...	5	5
Râê Bareli	...	21	21
Sîtapur	...	294	294
Hardoi	...	58	58
Kheri	...	203	203
Gonda	...	1,325	1,325
Bahrâich	6	385	391
Sultânpur	...	75	75
Partâbgarh	...	25	25
Bârabanki	...	120	120
Total .	14	4,000	4,014

Bhangi.[1]—The sweeper tribe of Hindustan. About the derivation of the word there is some difference of opinion. It is usually

[1] Based to a large extent on the account of the tribe in Benares by Mr. E. Greeven, C. S., contributed to the second volume of *North Indian Notes and Queries*, and subsequently reprinted under the title of "Knights of the Broom," and a note by Munshi Fasih-ud-din Ahmad, Deputy Collector, Benares; enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Bâbu Badrinâth, Deputy Collector, Kheri; Munshi Bâsdeo Sahây, Head Master, Zila School, Farrukhâbâd; Munshi Râdharaman, Deputy Collector, Jhânsi; Munshi Chhotê Lâl, Archæological Survey, Lucknow; and the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Bareilly, Budâun, Pilibhît, Morâdâbâd.

derived from the Sanskrit *bhanga*, "hemp," in allusion to the drunken habits of the tribe. Mr. Nesfield would derive it from the same word in the sense of "interruption," as a Hindu must give up whatever he is doing when he is touched by a sweeper. The Benares sweepers say that the word is a corruption of *sarbhanga* (*sarva-bhanga*), in the sense that while part of the Hindu community they are isolated from it. There are various titles used to designate the tribe. Thus they are known in the Western districts of the province and in the Panjâb as Chûhra, Chûra, or Chûhara, which is by some derived from their business of collecting or sweeping up scraps (*chûra-jhârna*), while Mr. Nesfield, with perhaps less probability, connects it with *chûha*, "a rat," which would make them eaters of rats and mice like the Musahars of the Eastern districts. They are also known as Mehtar or "prince," which is a honorific title of various classes, such as Bhatiyâra, Mochi, Qasâi, etc., and seems to have been used ironically, as cooks, tailors, or barbers are called Khalîfa. In connection with this it is important to note that the Bediyas of Bengal call their leaders Bhangi or hemp-drinkers, as a title of honour.[1] The name Mehtar was commonly applied to the servants of the Emperor Humayun.[2] Another title for them is Halâlkhor, "one who eats what is lawful, one whose earnings are legitimate." This euphemistic title is said to have been introduced by the Emperor Akbar.[3] They are also known as Khâkrob, or "sweepers of dust," and Bâharwâla, "one who is not admitted into the house." Another euphemistic name for them in the Punjâb is Musalli, "one who prays." From their religion and patron saint they are sometimes known, collectively, as Lâlbegi, which is really the name for one of their sub-castes.

Origin of the tribe.

2. The modern Bhangi is apparently the representative of the Chandâla of Manu,[4] who is said to be descended by a Sûdra from a Brâhmani woman. He ordains that they must live without the town, whence the name Antavâsin or Antevâsin, "one who dwells near the boundaries." Their sole wealth must be dogs and asses; their clothes must consist of the cerecloths of the dead; their dishes must be broken pots, and their ornaments of rusty iron. No one

[1] Rajendra Lala Mitra, *Memoirs, Anthropological Society of London*, III., 125.
[2] Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, I., 417.
[3] *Ibid.*, I., 139.
[4] *Institutes*, X., 12-29-30.

who regards his duties must hold any intercourse with them, and they must marry only among themselves,—a prohibition which takes us back to the very beginning of the caste system. By day they may roam about for the purposes of work, be distinguished by the badges of the Râja, and they must carry out the corpse of any one who dies without kindred. They should always be employed to slay those who by the law are sentenced to be put to death, and they may take the clothes of the slain, their beds, and their ornaments. The term Chandâl is now-a-days used only in the sense of contumely, and the so-called Chandâls of Bengal invariably call themselves Nâmasûdra,[1] "and with characteristic jealousy the higher divisions of the caste apply the name Chandâl to the lower, who in their turn pass it on to the Dom." The word Chandâla, which, if it really comes from an Aryan root, may be connected with *chanda*, in the sense of "evil or mischievous," was possibly the designation of some of the meaner non-Aryan or Dravidian races who were at an early time reduced to servitude, and compelled to perform the vilest functions of the Aryan commonwealth,[2] but that the term Bhangi can be applied to any definite ethnological unit is more than doubtful. Many of the special duties of the Chandâla of Manu, such as the conveyance of corpses and the task of acting as public executioners, are now vested in the Dom and his kindred, with whom the Bhangi, as we now see him, is doubtless closely allied. But the modern names seem to imply that the present organisation of the caste may have been contemporaneous with the early Muhammadan conquest, and there seems reason to believe that the tribe, as we now find it, is made up of a number of different elements. This is corroborated by the divergent physical appearance of the race. Some Bhangis have the dark complexion, stunted figure, and peculiar dark flashing eye which is so characteristic of the Dom. Others, again, are of a much taller form and fairer complexion. This may be perhaps accounted for partly by the fact that their admittance as servants into the higher class families facilitates illicit connection with superior races, and partly that the tribe habitually recruits itself by the admission of outcastes from the superior tribes. It has

[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 183.

[2] The Chandâla is probably the Kandaloi of Ptolemy whom Dr. J. Wilson would identify with the Gonds or Gondhalis, still a wandering tribe of Maharashtra. *Indian Caste*, I., 57; and see Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I., 481.

also been suggested that the names of some of their sub-castes point to the supposition that the caste may be made up of menials attached to various Râjput, Jât, or Musalmân tribes, the Hâris, with the Haras, the Dhe, with the Dhe Jâts, and the Râwats with the higher tribe of the same name. But of this there is no distinct evidence.

3. The tribal legends do not throw much light on their history. Of these a whole cycle centres round Lâl Beg.[1] The common legend, as told by the Chaudhari or headman of the Lâlbegis in Benares, runs as follows:—

Tribal legends.

In the city of Hastinapur lived the five Pândavas, whose mother's sister had one hundred and one sons. The Pândavas quarrelled with their cousins, who were all killed. In order to celebrate their victory, the Pândavas invited their gods to a banquet, but the gods refused to come, on the ground that the Pândavas had killed so many of their Brâhman kinsmen. The penance imposed upon the Pândavas was that they should be dissolved in the snows of the Himâlaya. They agreed to this, but as they were starting one of their cows died. They did not know how to dispose of the carcase, as it was a sin to touch it. So the other four conspired to induce their brother, Nakula, to perform the hateful duty. They addressed him thus: "Good lad (*bâlnîk*, whence his name Bâlnîk), remove the carcase, and we promise not to excommunicate you." He obeyed, and hid the carcase under some leaves by the bank of a stream. But when he returned his brothers refused to admit him until he brought some mango wood to perform the fire sacrifice (*hom*), and while he was away in search of it they started on their journey to the Himâlaya. When Nakula found himself deserted, he returned to the place where he had buried the dead cow and wept, when lo! by the grace of the Almighty, the cow was restored to life.

4. So Nakula lived on the milk of the cow in the jungle until he grew up, and then the cow died. As he was lamenting her loss, a voice came from heaven, "Do not grieve! You, Bâlnîk, are destined to be the progenitor of those who make fans (*sûp*) and sieves (*chhalni*) from the hide of the cow. These you will sell and teach the world the art of grinding and sifting flour for bread."

5. Thus Nakula or Bâlmîk became an ascetic, and taught the people the art of making bread; so he was called Sûpach Bhagat,

[1] For some of these legends I am indebted to the 2nd Volume, *Panjâb Notes and Queries*.

from the *sûp* or winnowing fan, which he invented. Here it may be incidentally remarked that Sûpach appears to represent the Sanskrit Svapâka or "dog-cooker," who in early Hindu literature is one of the most degraded classes, and is ranked with the Chandâla.

6. When he had accomplished his mission he retired from the world and entered the hole of a snake. When Râma was on his journey to Ceylon in search of Sîta, he halted near the place. The smoke of his fire disturbed the holy man, who came out in a rage, and the followers of the hero worshipped him in the form of Bânbhisûr, "the lord of the ant-hill" (*bânbhi*, Sanskrit, *Vâlmîka*, an ant-hill). When Bâlmîk heard of the capture of Sîta he was consumed with rage, and began to kill every Brâhman who came within his reach. He started for Prayâg (Allahâbâd), and halted somewhere near Gopiganj, in the Mirzapur District, and thence he was called Chandâla. Parmeswar took pity upon him, and, in order to save his soul, sent Guru Nânak from heaven, who won his confidence by relating to him all the events of his past life. He then asked Chandâla, "For whose sake dost thou commit these excesses?" "For the sake of my wife and children," he answered. Guru Nânak then said:—"Go and ask your wife if she is willing to lay down her life for your sake." She refused, and Chandâla was so disgusted with the world that he turned his thoughts to Parmeswar, and settled down at this place as an ascetic, and from him the place was called Chandâlgarh, the present Chunâr. He was known by the Muhammadans as Gada, or "the mendicant," and the hillock on which he lived is known as Gada Pahâr to the present day, and is one of the places of pilgrimage of the Bhangis.

7. Remembering the sins of his life, no one would touch Chandâla; so Guru Nânak brought him to the Triveni, or sacred junction of the Ganges and Jamuna, at Prayâg. There he told him to stand in the water and utter the words *Râma! Râma!* But all he could say was, *Mâra! Mâra!* "Stricken! Stricken!" So Nânak went to Chandâla's wife and told her that as long as she lived her husband had no chance of absolution. She consented to die for his sake, and by the mercy of Parmeswar, she and her husband were transported to heaven. She left two sons, Kâlu and Jîwan.

8. In those days Râja Kesava reigned at Kâshi or Benares. A relation of his, who bore a bad character, died, and no one would remove his corpse. The servants of the Râja suggested that this

duty might be imposed on the sons of Chandâla. The Râja sent for Kâlu, who consented to perform the task. In return for his services he was given the monopoly of burning all the bodies on the Benares Burning Ghât. He married a poor woman, and, in default of issue, adopted two sons to follow his profession. In time he became very rich, and then he succeeded in making a slave of Râja Hari Chand or Haris Chandra. He was so pious and god-fearing that he used daily to pay the expenses of the marriage of a poor Brâhman's daughter. One day, as he was hunting, a poor Brâhman asked him to pay for the marriage of his daughter. He replied:—"My treasury is at your service." "This will not suffice," answered the Brâhman, "without the wealth of Kâlu as well." So the Râja said:—"Sell me to Kâlu for all his wealth." Thus the Râja became Kâlu's slave, and his Râni wandered over the world. After some time Râotâr, son of Hari Chand, died, and the Râni, his mother, brought his corpse to the Ghât, where her husband was a slave, to be burned. The Râni could not pay the usual fee, and she at last offered to give half her sheet instead. But, before she could perform this last act of piety, Parmeswar was moved to pity, and carried off the Râja, Râni, and Kâlu, to heaven, where they are still. Their adopted sons became the progenitors of the race of the Doms or Chandâlas. The Bhangis are the descendants of Jîwan, the elder brother.

9. Jîwan, in want of a livelihood, began to wander in the jungle. By chance he came across the army of Alexander the Great, and was employed by him to remove the filth and night-soil of his camp. When the Greek army was at Delhi, one day, Lâl Beg, an incarnation of the Almighty, came and begged alms at the door of Jîwan. He treated him so hospitably that Lâl Beg said—"How can I requite your kindness?" "I am childless," answered Jîwan, "bestow on me a son." So Lâl Beg kicked Jîwan seven times, and said:—"For every kick thou shalt have a son;" and so it was. Alexander, who was also childless, when he heard of this miracle, called Jîwan, and giving him a horse ordered him to fetch Lâl Beg to his presence. Lâl Beg refused to go, and calling for the Qâzi of Delhi, ordered him to sacrifice the horse of Alexander, and when he had done so gave him a leg for his trouble. Then Lâl Beg disappeared, and when Alexander heard what had happened he threatened to hang Jîwan unless he could produce either Lâl Beg or the horse. Lâl Beg appeared, restored the horse

to life, and rode it to the palace. He ordered Jîwan to bring the three-legged horse before Alexander. When the Emperor saw the horse he asked what had become of the fourth leg. "It is with your Majesty's Qâzi," answered Jîwan. The Emperor was wroth, and ordered them to drown Jîwan in the Jumna. One of his sons became a Muhammadan like Alexander, and he was the progenitor of the Shaikh or Musalmân Bhangis. Another disappeared on the way (*râh*) to the river, and his descendants are the Râwat Bhangis. A third hid himself in a paddy (*dhân*) field, and from him are sprung the Dhânuks. The fourth hid in a grove of bamboos (*bâns*), and from him came the Bânsphors. The fifth saved his life by swimming (*helna*), and his descendants are the Helas. The sixth son escaped by holding on to an earthen pot (*hânri*), and he was the father of the Hâris. Jîwan and his seventh son walked beneath the water till they came to Amritsar, and from them come the Lâlbegi Bhangis.

10. By another equally veritable tale Lâl Beg was the son of the King of Ghazni. Being old and childless, the King devoted himself to the service of the saint Dâdagir Jhonpra, who blessed him with four sons on condition that he should receive the eldest. But Lâl Beg, the eldest, was so lovely that the King tried to pass off his second son on the saint. But he refused the exchange, and threatened that if Lâl Beg were not made over to him, he would strike him with dumbness. So the King was obliged to keep his word, and made over the prince to the saint, giving him kingdoms and palaces. When the prince came to the saint, the latter discovered his desire to rule. He sent him back and presented him with the wonderful cup which gave him all he wished, one of the wonder-working vessels like the sack or cap or jar which appears all through the range of folk-lore.[1] Lâl Beg succeeded his father as King of Ghazni, and, with the aid of the cup, worked such miracles that he was deified after his death.

11. According to another legend, in the beginning was chaos; the Almighty created Bâlmîkji, and he was placed on duty to sweep the stairs leading to the heavenly throne. One day God, out of compassion, said to Bâlmîkji:—"Thou art getting old; I will give thee something to reward thee." Next day Bâlmîkji went as usual to sweep the stairs, and there, through the mercy of Providence, he

[1] Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, I., 72.

found a boddice (*chôli*). He brought it to his house, and laying it aside attended to his other work. By the omnipotence of God, from this boddice was born a male child. When Bâlmîkji heard the voice of the child he went to the foot of the heavenly staircase and said—"Almightly God! a son has been born from the boddice given to thy servant." He was told in reply—"This is a Guru given unto thee." Bâlmîkji then said that he had no milk for the child. He was directed to go home, and whatever animal crossed his path to get it to nurse the child. God, moreover, said that he had created out of *Lâ illâha ill allâho* ("there is no God but God") Lâl Beg, and his name should be Nûri Shâh Bâla. Bâlmîkji descended from heaven and came to this earth and saw a female hare (*sassi*) suckling her young. He caught and brought her with her young ones, and Lâl Beg drank her milk, and was nourished and grew up. From that time sweepers are forbidden to eat the hare, a prohibition possibly based on totemism. The Almighty declared Lâl Beg to be the Guru, and that in every house a temple of two-and-a-half bricks would be reared to him, and for this reason a temple of two-and-a-half bricks is built in front of the house of every pious sweeper.

12. Another legend tells how the holy prophet (*Hasrat Paighambar*), saint (*Mehtar*) Ilias, or the Prophet Elias, attended at the Court of Almighty God, where many prophets were sitting. Mehtar Ilias coughed, and finding no room to spit in, he spat upwards, and his spittle fell upon the prophets. They all felt disgusted and complained to Almighty God, who directed that he should serve throughout the world as a sweeper. Mehtar Ilias begged that some prophet should be created in the world to intercede for him, and it was ordered that such a one should be born. According to the order of the God of Mercy he came into the world and took to sweeping, and passed many days in the hope of forgiveness. One day, the great saint, Barê Pîr Sâhib, Pîr-i-Dastagîr, or Sayyid Abdul Qâdir Jilâni, took his coat (*chola*) off, and gave it to Mehtar Ilias to wear. Mehtar Ilias put it into an earthen pitcher (*matka*), and intended to wear it at some auspicious time. One day the great saint asked him why he did not wear the coat. He answered—"My work is to sweep, and it would become dirty. I will wear it on some lucky day." The great saint said—"Wear it to-day, and come to me." He agreed, and went to open the pitcher, but it was shut so fast that he could not open it. He came to the saint and said that the pitcher would not open. The saint said—"Take my name and say to the pitcher

that the Pîr Sâhib calls you." Mehtar Ilias went and did as he was bidden, and putting the pitcher on his head brought it to the saint. The saint said, *Nikalâo, Lâl Beg,* "Come out quickly, my boy" (*Lál* is "My dear boy," *beg* means "quickly"). Immediately out of the pitcher came a fair man wearing red clothes, and the saint said to Lâl Beg:—"This was the order of Almighty God that you should be the prophet of the sweepers and intercede for them at the day of judgment." Mehtar Ilias took him home, and placing him under a nîm tree filled his pipe for him (a custom of the sweepers to the present day towards their religious teachers) and worshipped him. Lâl Beg became at once invisible, and Mehtar Ilias went to the great saint and told him the story. The great saint said that Lâl Beg had disappeared because he did not approve of his religion. "However, worship him, and he will intercede for you." He then ordered Mehtar Ilias to do penance, and said—"In the first age the *ghatmat* (vessels worshipped to represent Lâl Beg) will be golden; in the second, they will be of silver; in the third, copper; in the fourth, earthen." This is why the sweepers now worship vessels of earth, and believe in Lâl Beg as their prophet.

13. Another form of the legend connecting Lâl Beg with Benares and Chunâr is thus told:—In the beginning Bâlmîk went to Ghazni Fort and did penance there. A barren Mughal woman came to visit him and ask for a son, and promised that if one were given her, she would dedicate him to his service. In short, by the intercession of Bâlmîk, she gave birth in due time to a son, and called him Lâl Beg. When he grew up she took him and dedicated him to Bâlmîk, according to her promise. Bâlmîk afterwards took him to Benares. The ninety-six millions of godlings that inhabit Benares had turned the Chandâlas out of the home of the gods, and placed them at Chandâlgarh or Chunâr. When Bâlmîk was in Benares he saw that in the mornings when the sweepers came from Chandâlgarh to sweep the city, they used to sound drums before entering it, and that the inhabitants, who were really godlings, used to hide themselves in their houses to avoid seeing them. When they had finished sweeping they again sounded drums, and then the people came out of their houses and went on with their business. When Bâlmîk saw this, he could not hide himself, and asked the people why they avoided seeing sweepers. The people answered—"Because they are sweepers it is unlawful for us to look upon them." Bâlmîk out of pity gave up his life

for them. When he died, blood and matter oozed from his body, so that no Hindu could touch it. So one of the inhabitants of Benares went to Chandâlgarh to call a sweeper, and saw them all there. The sweepers came into Benares and threw the body of Bâlmîk into the Ganges. But the Hindus found the body lying in the same condition in another house, and called the sweepers again. Again the sweepers threw the body into the Ganges and went home. A third time the body was found in a house in Benares, and the people were astonished, and calling the sweepers saw all their faces. Afterwards Bâlmîk appeared in a dream to an inhabitant of Benares, and told him that as long as the people refused to see the sweepers his body would not leave the city. Ever since then the people have not hidden themselves from the sweepers. The sweepers took the body from the city, for the last time, and Bâlmîk told them to take it to Chandâlgarh. And it is said that when the body reached Chandâlgarh all the mat huts of the sweepers turned into houses of gold; but this was in the age of gold.

14. Still another Panjâb legend of Lâl Beg tells that he was the son of Shaikh Sarna, a resident of Multân, who left that place in the train of his spiritual master for Sadhaura, in the Âmbâla District, where he devoted himself to the worship of the saint Pîran Pîr, Abdul Qâdir Jilâni, who lived from 1078 to 1166 A.D. Shaikh Sarna had no child, and some one referred him to Bâlmîk, who then resided at Ghazni. Whereupon the Shaikh set out for Ghazni, taking his wife with him. As he approached the place he came across a girl, named Pundri, feeding swine, and when he asked her where Bâlmîk was, she said that she was his daughter. On this the Shaikh offered to watch her swine if she would take his wife to her father, to which she agreed. When she returned she saw that two young pigs had been born during her absence, and asked the Shaikh Sarna to carry them home for her, which he did. Meanwhile his wife had so won over Bâlmîk by her devotion, that he asked her what she wanted, and she answered, "a son." So Bâlmîk promised her a son, whom she was to call Lâl Beg. After nine months she gave birth to a son, and called him Lâl Beg. When Lâl Beg was twelve years old his mother dedicated him to Bâlmîk, and sent him to the saint on an elephant. He served Bâlmîk with heart and soul, and the saint was so pleased with him that he made him chief of all his disciples. Lâl Beg then

proceeded to Kâbul and Kashmîr, accompanied by Bâlmîk and all his followers. On arrival at Kâbul and Kashmîr, Lâl Beg told his followers to go and beg in the cities, but the people would not allow it. So they complained to Lâl Beg, who told them, after consulting Bâlmîk, to fight the people, and with the help of the saints and all the gods Lâl Beg gained the victory and took possession of Kâbul and Kashmîr.

15. After establishing his authority Lâl Beg placed one of his followers, named Sultâni, a native of the place, on the throne, and then went to Thanesar, where Bâlmîk died. His tomb is still worshipped as a shrine. Lâl Beg subsequently went with all his followers to Delhi and founded the Lâl Begi religion, dividing his followers into five sects—Lâl Begi, Shaikhri, Dumri, Heli, and Râwat.

16. Another legend shows more decided traces of Hindu influence. One day Siva became very drunk, and the procreating principle (*madan*) escaped from him. Parameswar took it in his hand and assumed the form of a man, put some of it in the ears of Anjana, and so Hanumân was born. He then rubbed some of it on a red stone, and Lâl Beg sprung forth. Then he rubbed it on a *sarkanda* reed (*saccharum procerum*), whence came Sarkandnâth. Then on some cow-dung (*gobar*), whence came Gobarnâth. And lastly he washed his hands in a river, where a fish swallowed some of the principle, and brought forth Machhandranâth, the preceptor of Guru Gorakhnâth.

17. To close this long account of sweeper hagiology, Lâl Beg's father was a Mughal, and had no children. He heard that Bâlmîk, who could help him, was living in a jungle not far from him; so he prayed to him and had in due time a son, whom he named Lâl Beg. About this time the Pândavas were making a great sacrifice (*jag*) which they could not complete, and a saint (*Mahâtma*) had told them that the sacrifice would be useless unless Bâlmîk came to complete it. So one of them mounted a heavenly chariot and found Bâlmîk in the jungle covered with leprosy; but he took him in his chariot, and brought him to the sacrifice. Draupadi had prepared all the food necessary for the sacrifice. and had distributed it to all present. Everybody but Bâlmîk had a taste of the thirty dishes in turn; but Bâlmîk collected all his share together and gobbled it down in two-and-a-half mouthfuls. Now, properly, the sound of a shell (*sankha*) from heaven ought to have been heard

for every grain of food eaten before the sacrifice was properly completed. But now only two and-a-half sounds were heard, when Bâlmîk consumed his share. The reason for this was that Draupadi was angry because Bâlmîk would not eat. However, as a sound had been heard, the sacrifice was considered complete. After this Bâlmîk gave power to Lâl Beg over all Hindustân, and ordered all the sweepers and scavengers to worship him for the accomplishment of their prayers.

18. Out of this mass of legend, which might be easily increased, very little can be gathered as to the actual personality of Lâl Beg. According to Sir H. M. Elliot, Lâl Guru is the name of the Râkshasa Aronakarat; but it is very doubtful who this personage was. Aruna is the title of the dawn, and Lâl or "red" may be a translation of this word. Major Temple hazards the speculation that Lâl Beg may represent Lâl Bhikshu, or the "red mendicant," which would bring the origin of the cultus to the era of Buddhism. The connection, again, of the worship with Bâlmîki, the author of the Râmâyana, who is said to have received the banished Sîta into his hermitage on the Chitrakûta hill, in the Bânda District, where he educated her twin sons, Kusa and Lava, is at present inexplicable. But it serves as an additional example of the extraordinary mixture of all the mythologies out of which so much of modern Hinduism is made up.

Tribal organization.

19. As might have been expected from what has been already said, the ethnological classification of the Bhangis is not very easily fixed. The last Census classifies them under five main sub-castes: Bâlmîki, derived from the tribal saint whose legends have been already given; Dhânuk, which, though allied to the Bhangis, has been treated as a distinct tribe; Hela, Lâl Begi, and Patharphor, or "stone-breaker." Of the word Hela more than one explanation has been given, of which none can be regarded as certain. We have given already the folk etymology, which makes it out to mean a person who saved his life by swimming (*helna*). Others say that *hela* means a "cry," and that they were so called because they were town criers, a function which the Bhangi usually still discharges in Northern India. According to another theory, again, it is derived from *hilna*, in the sense of "to be domesticated"; others again derive it from *hel*, "a basket load," or *hel* or *hil*, "filth, mud." One list from Benares divides the caste into nine endogamous sub-castes,—Shaikh, Hela,

Lâl Begi, Ghâzipuri Râwat, who trace their origin from Ghâzipur, and take their name from the Sanskrit *râja-dûta*, or "royal messengers," Hânri or Hâri, who appear to be so called because they pick up bones (Sanskrit, *hadda*) and other rubbish, Dhânuk, Bânsphor, and Dhê. Of these, according to the Benares account, the Lâl Begis have their head-quarters at Amritsar and Delhi; the Râwats at Agra, Mainpuri, Meerut, Ghâzipur, and Dînapur; the Shaikhs at Mirzapur and Delhi, and the Helas at Calcutta.

20. The detailed Census lists supply no less than thirteen hundred and fifty-nine sub-castes of Hindu and forty-seven of Muhammadan Bhangis. It is impossible with our existing knowledge to attempt anything approaching a complete analysis of this mass of names. Many, however, fall into two groups: first those connected by name at least with some tribe or occupational and well-known caste. Such are the Bâgri, Bais, Baiswâr, Bâlakchamariya, Bargûjar, Barwâr, Bhadauriya, Bisensob, Bundeliya, Chamariya, Chandela, Chauhân, Chhîpi, Dhelphor, Gadariya, Jâdon, Jâdubansi, Jaiswâr, Jogiya, Kachhwâha, Kâyasthbansi, Kinwâr, Sakarwâr, Tânk, Thâkur Bais and Turkiya. Others, again, clearly take their names from their places of origin, such as the Antarbedi, "those of the Duâb," Bilkhariya, Banaudh, Baranwâr, Bhojpuri Râwat, Ghâzipuri Râwat, Jamâlpuriya, Jamunapâri, Janakpuri, Jaunpuri, Kânhpuriya, Katheriya, Manglauri, Mânikpuri, Mainpuri, Mathuriya, Mehtarânpuri, Mukundpuri, Multâni, Nânakpuri, Sayyidpuri, Sarwariya, and Ujjainwâl or Ujjainpuriya.

21. Of the more important local sub-castes, we find in Dehra Dûn, the Badlân and Nânakshâhi; in Sahâranpur, the Barlang, Chanahiya, Machal, and Tânk; in Muzaffarnagar, the Bhilaur, Deswâl, Gahlot, and Soda; in Bulandshahr, the Bachanwâr, Baiswâr, Bhadauriya, Bhagwatiya, Bhokar, Chandâliya, Chauhân, Chauhela, Chunar, Dhakauliya, Garauthiya, Janghârê, Jasnubali, Nauratan, Nirbâni, Panwâri, Phûlpanwâr, Râthi, Rolapâl, Shaikhâwat, Tarkhariya, Turkiya, Ujjainpuriya, and Ujjainwâl; in Aligarh, the Chutelê, Kalawata, Kharautiya, Kothiya, Kausikiya, and Mathuriya; in Mathura, the Soda; in Mainpuri, the Pattharwâr; in Etah, the Churelê, Katheriya, Mathuriya, and Patthargoti; in Bareilly, the Bargûjar, Dankmardan, Janghârê, Katheriya, and Rajauriya; in Bijnor, the Gangwati; in Morâdâbâd, the Barchi, Bargûjar, Bhumiyân, Deswâli, Multâni, and Rajauriya; in Shâhjahânpur, the Katheriya; in Cawnpur, the Basor and Domar; in Fatehpur, the

Sûpa Bhagat; in Allahâbâd, the Bilkhariya; in Jhânsi, the Domar; in Ghâzipur, the Râwat; in Basti, the Audhiyâr, Desi, and Dom; in Lucknow, the Bânsphor; in Unâo, the Turaiha; and in Sultânpur, the Dom.

22. Of the Benares sweepers, Mr. Greeven writes:—"In Benares, only the Lâl Begi, Shaikh Mehtar, and Hela, with a few Râwats, are found. All sub-castes, including Lâl Begis, who acknowledge a Musalmân hero, claim to be Hindus, with the exception of the Shaikh Mehtars, who call themselves Muhammadans. These pretensions are, however, equally rejected by Hindus, who exclude them from temples, and by Musalmâns, who exclude them from mosques. The distinction between Lâl Begis and Shaikh Mehtars is purely religious, and an elaborate legend admitting the common origin has been invented to explain why Mazhabis, who are Lâl Begis converted to Nânakshâhi doctrines, do not object to eating with Shaikh Mehtars. Only Lâl Begis and Râwats eat food left by Europeans, but all eat food left either by Hindus or Musalmâns. The Shaikh Mehtars alone, as Musalmâns, circumcise, and reject pig's flesh. Each sub-caste eats uncooked food with all the others, but cooked food alone (*kachchi, pakki*). Only Helas refuse to touch dogs. Shaikh Mehtars and Lâl Begis alone admit proselytes. No sweeper touches the corpse of any other caste, nor, within his caste, of any sub-caste, except his own. While to the west of Delhi they are willing and regard it as their function to sweep streets and burn corpses, in Benares they profess, on the authority of a legend, to abandon streets to Chamârs, corpses to Doms. In fact, sweepers by no means endorse the humble opinion entertained with respect to them; for they allude to castes, such as Kunbis and Chamârs, as petty (*chhota*); while a common anecdote is related to the effect that a Lâl Begi when asked whether Musalmâns could obtain salvation, replied—"I never heard of it, but perhaps they might slip in behind Lâl Beg."

23. Further he goes on to say:—"Each sub-caste of sweepers is endogamous, but within each sub-caste are certain exogamous *stirpes* (*gotra*). Thus the Lâl Begis admit three exogamous stirpes—Kharaha, 'hare'; Pattharâha, 'stone;' and Chauhân." These sections, it may be noted, are almost certainly totemistic. Thus the Kharaha section will not eat the hare; the Pattharâha will not eat out of stone vessels. We shall notice later on another explanation of this; in fact, as in the case of the Dhângars, each of these minor castes is constantly working out fresh explanations of their

totemistic sections, and this is probably the explanation why it is now so difficult to trace this form of tribal organisation among the castes of Upper India. Mr. Greeven adds that besides these sections a special section has been created by spiritual ministers (*bábe*), who proudly declare that, just as kingship is not confined to any special classes, so they have abandoned their section, but not their sub-caste. This special section, though recruited from three exogamous sub-divisions, is endogamous.

24. Another account of these Benares sections may be given. These are said to be Chauhân, who connect themselves with the Râjput sept of the same name; Chuhân, who are named from *chúha*, "a rat"; Kharaha, "a hare"; Patthara, "a stone"; Pathrauta, who profess to derive their name from a kind of vegetable known as *pathri-ké-ság*.

25. This, however, does not exhaust the tribal organisation of the sweepers of these provinces. Thus, in Kheri, they are reported to be divided into two endogamous groups, with various exogamous sections. In the first group are the Mehtar, Bhangi, Lâl Begi, Chaudhari, and Rangreta. The second group consists of the Hathîlê, Râwat, Domra, Dhabâê, and Bânsphor. Most of these names have been already discussed. But in connection with the Rangreta section Mr. Ibbetson's remarks[1] may be quoted:—"The terms Mazhabi and Rangreta denote Chûhras who have become Sikhs. The Mazhabis take the *pahul* or formula of initiation, wear their hair long, and abstain from tobacco, and they apparently refuse to touch night-soil, though performing all the other offices hereditary to the Chûhra caste. Their great Guru is Tegh Bahâdur, whose mutilated body was brought back from Delhi by Chûhras, who were then and there admitted to the faith as a reward for their devotion. But though good Sikhs as far as religious observance is concerned, the taint of hereditary pollution is upon them; and Sikhs of other castes refuse to associate with them even in religious ceremonies. They often intermarry with the Lâl Begi or Hindu Chûhra. They make capital soldiers, and some of our regiments are wholly composed of Mazhabis. The Rangreta are a class of Mazhabi apparently found only in Ambâla, Ludhiâna, and the neighbourhood, who consider themselves socially superior to the rest. The origin of their superiority, I am informed, lies in the fact that

[1] *Panjáb Ethnography*, paragraph 593.

they were once notorious as highway robbers. But it appears that the Rangretas have very generally abandoned scavengering for leather work, and this would at once account for their rise in the social scale. In the hills Rangreta is often used as synonymous with Rangrez to denote the cotton dyer and stamper; and in Sirsa the Sikhs will often call any Chûhra whom they wish to please, Rangreta, and a rhyme is current, *Rangreta, Guru ka beta*, or "the Rangreta is the son of the Guru."

26. Again, in Mirzapur, the Bhangis name seven endogamous sub-castes: Halâlkhora, who are said to be so called because they support themselves by honest labour and do not eat the leavings of others; Lâl Begi, Râwat, Domar, who are like Doms; Hinduaiya, who are supposed to be so called because they are Hindus and more precise in the observances of the faith than other Hindu sweepers; Kirtiya, who are said to have been originally Hindus and to have been converted (*kirtiya*) to Islâm.

27. In Lucknow, again, their end ogamous sub-castes are given as Bânsphor, Hela, Râwat, Hâri, Dhânuk, Lâl Begi, Shaikh or Shaikhra, Chûhra, and Dom.

28. In Bareilly, the Bhangis are reported to have four exogamous sections,—Khariya, who are perhaps the same as the Kharaha of the Benares list, Dalwariya, Tânk Mardân, Singha.

29. In Mirzapur another name for the Hela sub-caste is said to be Mâlwar, which the members say is derived from their profession of keeping hogs. They may possibly be akin to the Mâl of Bengal.

30. Lastly, Sir H. M. Elliot names the Bhangi sections (*gotra*) as Baniwâl, Bilpurwâr, Tânk, Gahlot, Kholi, Gagra, Sarohi, Chandâliya, Sirsawâl, and Siriyâr. Some of these are the names of Râjput septs; others are apparently taken from the place of their origin. It has as yet been found impossible to identify the exact part of the country in which these sections prevail.

Traditions of origin.

31. Beyond the legends already given in connection with Lâl Beg, the Bhangis do not appear to have any very distinct traditions of their history. The Lâl Begis of Benares undertake occasional pilgrimages to Amritsar, which they consider to be their home. The Bhangis of Mirzapur refer their origin to Jaunpur. They make occasional visits to the village of Surhurpur, where they worship at the tomb of a Muhammadan Faqîr named Makhdûm Shâh. On the other hand, the

Hindu Helas make pilgrimages to the temple of Kâlika Mâi, in the village of Lokhari, in the Bânda District. They attend a special fair held in honour of the goddess on the thirtieth day of Chait, at which, as at the shrine of the goddess Vindhyabâsini Devi at Bindhâchal, they have the ceremonial shaving of their sons performed, and offer pigs, goats, rams, and a libation of spirits. They have also a preference for arranging marriages, and taking their barbers from this place, which they regard as their original home. The Benares Lâl Begis all collect at what is called the Panchâyat Akhâra sacred to Guru Nânak, near the Sivâla Ghât, in the city, for the decision of all social matters. There is, lastly, the Gada Pahâri at Chunâr, to which reference has been already made, which is a well-known resort for the Bhangis of the eastern part of the Province.

Tribal council and caste discipline.

32. The Bhangis have a most elaborately organised tribal council. Thus, the Lâl Begis of Benares, to follow Mr. Greeven's account again, have a semi-military organisation modelled on that of the British Cantonment in which they are employed. Their headman is known as Brigadier Jamadâr, whose office, though in theory elective, is in practice hereditary, so long as the requirements are fulfilled. These are chiefly: on election to provide two dinners for the whole sub-caste, sweetmeats, to the value of fourteen rupees, to be distributed among them, and two turbans to each president as below described. Within the sub-caste the administrative unit is the "company" (*bera*), of which in Benares there are eight, *viz.*, the Sadar, or those employed by private residents in Cantonments; the Kâlê Paltan, who serve the Bengal Infantry; the Lâl Kurti, or "Red Coats," who are employed by the British Infantry; the Teshan, or those employed at the three Railway Stations of Cantonment, Râjghât, and Mughal Sarâi; the Shahr, or those employed in the City; the Râmnagar, who take their name from the residence of the Mahârâja of Benares, whom they serve; the Kothiwâl or "Bungalow men," who serve residents in the Civil Lines; and lastly, the Genereli, who are the survivors of the sweepers who were employed at head-quarters when Benares was commanded by a General of Division. Under the Brigadier each "company" has four officers (*sardâr*) as follows:—The Jamadâr or President, the Munsif or Spokesman, the Treasurer or Chaudhari, and the Nâib or Summoner. As with the Brigadier, these offices, though supposed to be elective, are practically hereditary, provided that the candidate can afford to

present one dinner to the whole sub-caste, and one turban to each of the Presidents. Under these officers every member of the company is designated a private soldier (*sipáhi*); and out of these a ministerial officer is appointed under the title of the messenger (*piyáda*).

33. At a meeting of the council a private may, with much respect, interrupt proceedings to direct attention to anything irregular. On the conclusion of the evidence, the three inferior officers in each company confer together until they arrive at a unanimous decision, which, through their spokesman, they submit to their President. When each President is unanimous with his assistants, he confers with the Presidents of the other companies, and when all eight Presidents are unanimous they confer with the Brigadier, who, if he agrees with them, delivers the final decision. In case of disagreement, the disputed question must be argued out, or further evidence adduced, until the disagreement is removed. Mr. Greeven adds :—"As there is no record or evidence of judgment, it may well be inquired how it is possible, except by accident, ever to obtain a unanimous decision amongst thirty-three human beings. In point of fact, however, the issues are of so simple a character and, therefore, so fully within the compass of the private soldiers, that public opinion is very powerful, and, as in cases of dead-lock, oaths are administered to the dissentient officers, the practical result follows that where an officer, in spite of an oath, persists in blocking the decision of a dispute by a corrupt, or perverse, or even unpopular verdict, he is liable to be dismissed from his office, or even expelled from the brotherhood. The subordinate officers decide according to the verdict of the private soldiers, and a President rarely persists in opposition to his subordinate officers, while the Brigadier accepts the opinion of the Presidents almost as a formality."

34. When any dispute arises, the aggrieved party, depositing a process-fee (*talabdna*) of a rupee-and-a-quarter, addresses his summoner, who, in company with the Treasurer, and through the medium of the spokesman, refers the matter to the President. Unless the question is so trivial that it can be settled without caste punishments, the President fixes a time and place, of which notice is given through the messenger, to the summoners of the other seven companies. Within each company the messenger, who is remunerated with one-and-a-quarter annas out of the process-fee, carrier round the notice to each private soldier.

35. Only worthy members of the caste are allowed to sit on the tribal matting and smoke the tribal pipe (*huqqa*). The proceedings begin with the spreading of the matting, and the pipe is passed round. The members sit in three lines, and in the following order of precedence :—The Brigadier Jamadâr, each batch of four officers of the eight companies arranged as follows,—the President to the right, next the spokesman, treasurer, and summoner, and behind them all private soldiers. Each party to the dispute, in charge of the messenger of his company, is cross-questioned individually by the eight spokesmen, who then proceed to examine the witnesses adduced by the litigants, and any persons acquainted with the facts of the case.

36. The punishments inflicted by the council are of three kinds,—fines (*dând*) ; compulsory dinners (*bhog, khâna*) ; and outcasting (*kujât karna*). Non-compliance with an order of fine or entertainment is followed by expulsion. Fines are always multiples of one-and-a-quarter, which is a lucky number. The formal method of outcasting consists in seating the culprit on the ground and drawing the tribal mat over his head, from which the turban is removed. The messengers of the eight companies inflict a few taps with slippers and birch brooms from above. It is alleged that unfaithful women were formerly tied naked to trees and flogged with birch brooms, but that, owing to the fatal results that occasionally followed such punishment, as in the case of the five kicks among Chamârs, and a scourging with a clothes line, which used to prevail among Dhobis, the caste has now found it expedient to abandon such practices.

37. When an outcast is re-admitted on submission, whether by paying a fine or giving a dinner, he is seated apart from the tribal mat, and does penance (*tauba, tobah*) by holding his ears and confessing his offence. A new *huqqa*, which he supplies, is carried round by the messenger, and a few whiffs are taken by the clansmen in the following order.—The Bather, the Brigadier, the eight Presidents, the eight spokesmen, the eight summoners, and the private soldiers. The messenger repeats to the culprit the order of the council, and informs him that should he again offend his punishment will be doubled. With this warning he hands him the *huqqa*, after smoking which the culprit is admitted to the carpet, and all is forgotten in a banquet at his expense.

38. The officials and procedure of the councils of the other sub-

castes are very similar. Thus in Benares the Ghâzipuri Râwats have a President (*Chaudhari*), a messenger or Chharibardar, who announces the dates and purposes of the council meetings, and receives two annas for his trouble. The Shaikhs have a Chaudhari or President, a Sardâr or his assistant, a Qâzimdâr, whose functions are similar to those of the Chharibardâr. The Helas have two officials, the Chaudhari and the Piyâda or Chharibardâr. In the Shaikh council all the officials at the time of their appointment have to give a dinner to the members of their council. The Chaudhari and Sardâr are invested with turbans as a sign of office. The Qâzimbardâr receives a whip (*kora*), a mat (*tât*), and a jug and bowl (*lota, katora*) when he is invested with office. In the Hela council the Chaudhari receives a turban, but is not obliged to give a dinner. The rule among the Ghâzipuri Râwats is the same.

Marriage rules.

39. Among the Lâl Begis of Benares a man must marry within his own sub-caste, but not in the section (*tar*) to which he belongs. Thus he cannot marry in the house of his paternal or maternal grandfather. But he may marry a woman of any other sub-caste or caste, provided she be initiated duly into the Lâl Begi fraternity. The Lâl Begis are noted for their laxity in enforcing the rules of marriage. Thus they may marry even a Dom or Chamâr woman. He cannot marry two sisters at the same time without the consent of the first wife, or unless she has no hope of issue. But in no case can a man marry the elder sister of his wife, and he cannot marry the sisters of his *phûpha* or husband of his father's sister, or of the husband of his mother's sister. Among the Shaikhs the Muhammadan prohibited degrees are enforced, except that a man cannot marry outside his sub-caste; he can marry two sisters at the same time, but during the life-time of his wife he cannot marry her elder sister, and he cannot marry in the family of his paternal grandfather or of the husband of his father's sister. But he may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his mother's sister. When a man has married into a certain family all his male relations will, as far as possible, avoid marrying in the same family. Among the Ghâzipuri Râwats a man must marry in his sub-caste, but not in the family of his paternal or maternal grandfather. In fact, all relations whose fathers or mothers can be traced back to any common ancestor are barred. A man can marry two sisters, but not the elder sister of the wife while she is alive. The same rules apply to the Helas.

The Bânsphors, like the Shaikhs, will not marry in the family of the paternal grandfather, but that of the maternal grandfather is not excluded. The Helas, as a rule, marry very near relatives. There is no exclusion as regards marriage, and they use the proverb, —*Dâm sé barh jawé, châm sé nahín barhta*—that is to say, one who is higher in social status is not necessarily elevated as regards caste.

40. The following rules regulate the marriage of outsiders. In Benares the Ghâzipuri Râwats and Helas can marry any woman provided she does not belong to another Bhangi sub-caste, is not drawn from the lower castes, such as Doms, Dhobis, Dusâdhs, Dharkârs, Khatîks, and Chamârs, and that prior to marriage she has been properly initiated into the sub-caste of her future husband. When a man marries such a woman he has to give a dinner to his brethren, and pay a fine of twenty or thirty rupees, when the woman is being initiated. Such a marriage is not treated as the regular marriage (*shâdi*), but as the lower form (*sagâi*), and in spite of her initiation, the wife, but not her children, will always be considered as an out-caste (*parjât*). The Shaikhs will marry a woman of any caste, provided she embrace Islâm, but her original caste must have been respectable, and they will not marry a woman who was originally a Kunbi, Ahîr, Koeri, or the like. The husband in such a marriage is not obliged to pay any fine to the council, but he has to distribute sharbat to them. Such a woman will be admitted to full tribal rights. The Lâl Begis can marry a woman of any caste, provided that she is willing to be initiated as a Lâl Begi. Even the present Guru of the Benares Lâl Begis is reported to have a very low-caste woman as his wife. Such a marriage is not called *shâdi* but *nikâh*, but the wife is not treated as an out-caste.

41. The following is said to be the form of initiation among the Lâl Begis of Benares. The candidate has to prepare between one-and-a-quarter maund and five *sers* of *malída*, or bread made of flour, milk, butter, sugar, and other condiments. This food, with sweetmeats to the value of seven-and-a-quarter rupees, is placed on a platform (*chauki, chabûtra*), in the presence of the assembled brethren, and the tribal genealogy or *kursinâma* is repeated over it. The man who recites the genealogy receives a fee of one-and-a-quarter rupees. Some sharbat is also prepared, and the members present dip their finger into it. This sharbat is drunk by the candidate, and the food and sweetmeats distributed among those present. This ceremony is

Initiation.

known as the *chauki*. Similarly, among the Shaikh Mehtars, an outsider is admitted on feeding the fraternity and giving alms to the poor. At the initiation of Sikh sweepers, the headman reads out to the initiate what is known as *Nânak kî bâni*, or the songs of Nânak, and he is made to drink the *charnamrit*, or water in which the feet of the headman have been washed, and he eats the *prasâd*, or *halwa*, which is prepared on such occasions and offered before the holy volume. The present head of the community at Farrukhâbâd is known as Vasudeva Mahârâj, who is a follower of Nânak, and he freely mixes with the Bhangis and eats and drinks with them. One of these incantations used at initiation by the Panjâb Bhangis runs—

Soné kâ ghât; soné kâ mât;
Soné kâ ghorâ; soné kâ jorâ;
Soné kî kunjî; soné kâ tâlâ;
Soné kâ kiwâr; lâo kunjî; kholo kiwâr;
Dekho dâdâ Pîr kâ dîdar.

"Golden pitcher; golden pot; golden horse; golden dress; golden key; golden lock; golden door; put in the key; open the door; see the figure of the Holy Saint."[1]

This is known as *Sat jug ki kursi*, and similar verses are used for the Dwâpar Jug, Treta Jug, and Kali Jug. But the words "silver," "copper," and "earthen" are used for each age respectively in place of "golden." The usual ritual appears to be that the candidate brings with him mince pies (*chûra*) to the amount of five *sers* in weight, and the articles for the worship (*pûja*) of Lâl Beg, *viz.*, ghi, betel, cloves, large cardamoms, incense, and frankincense. A *kursi* or genealogy is then recited over him, and finally he is patted on the back, and a little of the mince pies, some water, and a *huqqa* are given to him. A quantity of the pies are offered to Lâl Beg, and the rest distributed among the Lâl Begis present. A rupee-and-a-quarter is paid to the Guru, who is always a Mehtar, who performs the ceremony, and as much clothes as the initiate can afford.[2] The ceremony, such as it is, is always done in secret, and it is very difficult to induce Bhangis to give anything like a full account of it. Among some of the sweeper sub-castes it is commonly reported that a more disgusting form of initiation prevails,

[1] The most complete and authoritative version of the Kursi of Lâl Beg is that given by Mr. Greeven in "*Knights of the Broom*," 41, *sqq.*

[2] *Panjâb Notes and Queries, II., 1*; *Knights of the Broom*, 50, *qqq.*

part of which is that the initiate stands in a pit, and each member of the fraternity drops ordure on his head; but it is very doubtful how far this is true.

Marriage ceremonies.

42. The following account of the ritual in force in Bhangi marriages is mainly based on Mr Greeven's notes. The marriage customs of the Shaikh Mehtars are attempts to follow as closely as possible the Musalmân course (*shâdi*) of nuptial contract (*nikâh*) and dower (*mahar bândhna*). Among the Hindu sub-castes a match-maker (*agua*), spoken of by Lâl Begis as the "go-between" (*bichauliya*), is selected by either party. A marriage fee, settled by the match-makers, may be given for a bride, but not for a bridegroom, except by way of marriage portion (*dahej*). Where the bride's father is wealthy, a form of Beena marriage prevails, and it is common for him to require or permit his son-in law to reside with him (*ghar damâdu*).

The period between the conclusion of arrangements by the match-makers and the actual wedding is known as the *lagan*. It is inaugurated on the first evening by a dinner of raw sugar (*gur*) given by the parents of both parties jointly at the bride's dwelling to all the clansmen. The next essential is to erect a marriage pole (*mâcha*) consisting of a plough shaft (*haris*) enwreathed in *dûb* grass and mango leaves on the first evening in the bridegroom's, and on the second in the bride's court-yard. A night wake (*ratjaga*) precedes each of these ceremonies, in which the women are feasted at the household concerned with pulse and rice, and occupy themselves in preparing comfits (*gulgula*) of raw sugar, flour, and oil, which on the following morning are distributed among all the clansmen at their houses. When the marriage pole is erected in the bridegroom's court-yard, merely an earthen water-pot (*gâghar*), surmounted with a pot with a spout (*badhana*), is deposited beside it, and on the same evening all the members of the tribe, male and female, are feasted with rice and sugar and clarified butter. When, however, a second marriage pole is erected, after a second night wake, in the bride's court-yard, it has a thatched canopy (*chhappar*) attached to it, and on this occasion, and under this canopy, the actual wedding is celebrated on the lucky date (*sâit*) given by the Brâhman astrologer.

43. Towards evening all the clansmen, both male and female, in procession escort the bridegroom, usually on horseback and with

music, to the bride's dwelling. There is no hard-and-fast usage with respect to the shape and colour of the wedding garments, except that both bride and bridegroom must carry a head-dress (*maur*) made of flowers and palm leaves.

44. On arrival the bride's father assigns the procession "a field" for sitting (*janwánsa, khet dena*), and placing an earthen jar (*kunda*) of boiled rice before the bridegroom, bestows a present on his father, usually consisting of a turban, which he has on his head, and a rupee which he places in his hand. Four or five of the bridegroom's comrades taste the boiled rice, and into the remainder the bridegroom's father drops some money, which should not be less than five copper coins.

45. Then comes the *duár bár*, when two sheets, one of the bride's and the other of the bridegroom's father, are held up before the doorway. From within the bride, and from without the bridegroom, approach each other, separated by the curtain. The bride's mother waves seven times round the head of the bridegroom a winnowing fan or tray containing a lamp, some rice, turmeric, betel-nut, betel-leaf, and dûb grass. Next she waves again seven times round his head a pot of water, a wooden rice-pounder, and a pestle. Lastly, she applies a coin bedaubed with rice and turmeric in the manner of a caste mark (*tilak*) to the forehead of the youth, who receives the coin as his perquisite. The bridegroom's father also drops a coin into the water-pot beside the marriage pole. On this the boy salutes his clansmen and returns to them, while the bride retires to array herself inwedding garments, and the sheets are lowered.

46. When the bride is ready, she is seated with the bridegroom under the marriage canopy. Four pegs of mango wood are driven into the ground before them, and a thread fastened around them. In the centre a fire is kindled by the father of the bridegroom, who, after raising a flare with a libation of ghi, reverses an earthen vessel over it, with the object, as is alleged, of conciliating the household deities. The bride's father deposits at the feet of the couple the tray or fan which in an earlier ceremony the mother was seen waving over the head of the bridegroom. All the bride's relatives, after taking some of the contents and touching the feet of the couple, apply it to their foreheads, and deposit as much money as they can afford by way of a present.

47. Next the gown (*jáma*) of the boy is knotted to the mantle

(*chádar*) of the bride by the religious mendicant, who is by caste also a sweeper and is known as Bâbaji. This is the *gath bandhan* rite. In the absence of the Bâbaji the husband of the sister of the bridegroom, known as Mân, does this office.

48. Then the couple, with their left shoulders in the direction of the marriage pole, make seven circuits (*bhaunri*) round it. On the first four circuits the bridegroom, and on the last three the bride, is the leader. As each circuit is completed, it is usual, but not necessary, for the father, or in his absence the bridegroom's sister's husband, to hand over a strip of mango wood (*tíli*) to the leader, who, tapping his or her partner on the back with it, flings it back by way of record over the marriage canopy. The bridegroom, then conducting the bride to the doorway, removes his head-dress, and tenders it with a money present to the bride's mother, who, in like manner, removing her daughter's head-dress, tenders it with a money present to the father of the bridegroom. The bride retires into the house, and the bridegroom rejoins his clansmen who, male and female, are feasted with raw sugar and rice with ghi, and then retire in a body, with the exception of the bridegroom and his father.

49. On the following morning comes the parting (*bida*), when the four headmen (*sardár*) attend to witness the giving and receiving of the marriage portion (*dahej*). The bridegroom's father for this service pays over a fee of two rupees, which is, perhaps, the most important of all the rites, because it signifies that the marriage is complete.

50. Before the bridegroom removes the bride to her new home, her mother offers him pulse and rice (*khichari*), which he refuses to touch until he receives a present. At the moment of departure the bridegroom salutes the bride's relatives and receives presents from them, while he bestows largess on female menials, such as the wife of the barber, washerman, and the village midwife. It is usual to remove the bride in a litter carried by Kahârs or Musahars. At the entrance of the bridegroom's house, his sister, or, in her absence, her daughter, or else any other female relative, bars the way against the new wife, until appeased by a present.

51. For four days the bride remains with the women of her husband's family. On the fourth day the womenfolk are collected, and the couple in their wedding garments are seated facing one another on a blanket, with a basket of fruit and flowers between

them. To overcome their modesty the women incite them to pelt one another with flowers. The bridegroom removes his ring from his finger and places it once on the parting of his wife's hair, thereby sealing the moment when the bride (*dulhin*) becomes a matron (*suhágan*). The bridegroom's gown and the bride's mantle are knotted together by the women, who tearing down the marriage pole, consign the materials with the marriage head-dress (*maur*) to the nearest water. On their return the newly-married couple assume their usual dress, and the wedding is ended.

Divorce.

52. Among the Lâl Begis impotency, leprosy, or lunacy in the husband warrants the wife in claiming a separation. Among the Shaikhs and Helas only impotency is a recognised ground. But the woman claiming a separation has to pay a fine of five or ten rupees, and give a dinner to the council. Among the Lâl Begis no marriage can be annulled without the sanction of the council, and among the Shaikhs without the joint consent of husband and wife. Among the Ghâzipuri Râwats no physical defect, however serious, is recognised as valid cause for a separation. Unfaithfulness or loss of caste in the wife is a ground for her husband to repudiate her. Among the Lâl Begis when a man wishes to get rid of his wife he assembles the brethren, and in their presence says to her—"You are as my sister"; she answers—"You are as my father and brother." When the divorce is sanctioned, the husband has to pay one-and-a-quarter rupees to the council and two-and-a-half rupees to the Sardâr. Among Shaikh Mehtars the Qâzi is called in, and in his presence the husband says the word *talâq* three times. If the wife be found in fault she cannot claim dowry. Among the Ghâzipuri Râwats intertribal infidelity is not regarded as a ground for divorce; but it will be so if her paramour be an outsider. The Lâl Begis do not recognise any distinction between children the result of illicit connections and those of regular marriage, provided they are Lâl Begis. The same rule applies among the Shaikh Mehtars; the Ghâzipuri Râwats call such children *dogla* or *dunsla*, and though they have full tribal rights as regards marriage and social intercourse, they receive a smaller share of the inheritance than legitimate children. Naturally illegitimate children find it less easy to marry than those of legitimate birth. If a woman of the Ghâzipuri sub-caste intrigues with a stranger to the sub-caste she is permanently expelled; if her paramour be a fellow caste-man she can be restored on payment of

the penalty imposed by order of the council. Among the Lâl Begis of Benares it is not necessary that the widow of the elder should marry the younger brother; but among the Shaikhs and Ghâzipuri Râwats the widow must marry her younger brother-in-law if he be of suitable age and willing to take her. Among the Helas the matter is optional. If a Lâl Begi widow marry an outsider she continues to maintain her right over the property of her first husband, provided her second marriage was contracted with the consent of the council. Among the Shaikhs and Ghâzipuri Râwats the rule is different, and if the widow marry an outsider she loses all right to her first husband's estate.

Birth ceremonies.

53. During pregnancy the woman wears a thread round her neck and a rupee tied round her head to scare evil spirits. In Lucknow the pregnant Lâl Begi woman counts seven stars as a spell to procure an easy delivery. She also has her lap filled with sweetmeats and fresh vegetables as an omen of fertility. This is known as *godbhari*. In the Western Districts the expectant mother worships Sati in the fifth or seventh month of her pregnancy. When delivery is tedious, it is a common practice to give her some water to drink over which a Faqîr has blown. When the delivery takes place the Chamârin is called in, who cuts the cord, buries it in the delivery room, and lights a fire over it. The phrase used is *kheri jaldi jâti hai*—"the after-birth is being burnt." At the head of the bedstead she places some iron article, usually a penknife, and hands over to the mother an iron ring, which she reclaims on her dismissal, six days after. During that period a fire is kept smouldering at the door to repel the demon Jamhua, who takes his name apparently from Yama, the god of death. The most fatal disease from which Indian infants suffer is infantile lock-jaw, which is the result of the cutting of the umbilical cord with a blunt and perhaps foul instrument, like the common sickle used for this purpose. This disease, as is well known, generally appears on the sixth or twelfth day after birth, and this is the reason why these days have been, among most of the Indian castes, selected as the time for the rites of purification. This demon, like all his kin, detests foul smells, so they burn bran, leather, horns, and anything else which gives a fetid smoke in the neighbourhood of the mother, and all the foul clothes, etc., are carefully taken away by the midwife and buried in the ground, as, like all the lower tribes, the Bhangis have an intense dread of menstrual and parturition blood.

Among the Lâl Begis the rite of purification is complete on the sixth day, and after the mother has been bathed and dressed in clean clothes, she is taken outside at night to see the stars, while her husband stands close to her with a bludgeon to ward evil spirits from her. Then a tray full of food is brought, and all her women friends join in eating with the mother. In return, the friends send a coat and cap for the child. Among the Helas the rite of purification ends on the twelfth day. After the Chamârin is dismissed Bhangis do not, as other low castes do, call in the wife of the barber to attend the mother. A Brâhman is usually called in to select a name for the child, and then the birth hair is shaven. Some of the more advanced Bhangis are more careful in performing the rites of purification common to the superior castes. At the age of five or six many of them have their children's ears bored at shrines like that of Kâlika Mâi and the Vindhyabâsini Devi of Bindhâchal. On this occasion they offer a goat or ram, or cakes, and pour some spirits on the ground. Among the Helas of Mirzapur, when the mother first leaves her room, she offers a burnt sacrifice (*hom*), and makes an offering to Ganga Mâi.

Death rites.

54. The Bhangis appear to be in the intermediate stage between burial and cremation. In Benares, according to Mr. Greeven, most of them are buried. The Lâl Begis and Shaikh Mehtars burn nothing; while the others scorch the face or hand and then bury. The funeral rites are the same for men and women. The body is bathed, according to sex, by the barber or his wife, but in perhaps most cases this is done by one of the relations. The two thumbs and the two great toes are fastened together with strips of cloth. It is then deposited, attired in a loin cloth, on a new mat, and sprinkled with camphor and wafer, or rose water. The Shaikh Mehtars use the ordinary Muhammadan cerecloths. The clansmen carry the body to the grave-yard on a bedstead, which each takes a turn in raising. With Musalmâns every member of the procession repeats the creed (*Kalima*), while with Nânakshâhis the Bâba advances in front reading the sacred volume (*granth*). Each sub-caste has its separate grave-yard; but the custodian is always a Musalmân. The Takyadâr or custodian receives four annas for reading the funeral prayers (*janâza ki namâz*); the grave-digger (*beldâr*) six annas for digging the grave; and the carpenter four annas for supplying a plank for the grave. Two clansmen descend into the grave to receive the

corpse as it is lowered. Either method of interment, lateral (*baghli*), or vertical (*sandúqchi*), is adopted. The sheet is withdrawn for a moment from the face of the corpse to allow it one last glimpse of the heavens, while with Musalmâns the face is turned towards Mecca. The sheet is replaced and the plank deposited, on which each clansman flings a handful of dust. A sheet is extended over the grave, and a viaticum, consisting of bread, sweetmeats, and some water, is laid upon it; each clansman sprinkles a little water and crumbles a little sweetmeats and bread on the mound. An earthen vessel is reversed over the grave; but sweepers do not observe the ceremony of withdrawing ten paces, nor, of course, is the Fâtiha recited, except for Musalmâns. At the moment of leaving the grave-yard it is not unusual for each mourner to fling a pebble over his shoulder to bar the ghost. The custodian pounces on the sheet as his perquisite, except in the case of sweepers who come from the Nawâbi Mulk (Delhi, Râmpur, and Lucknow), in which case he retains it, shut up in the pot which was reversed over the mound, until forty days after the funeral.

55. The more respectable Hindu sweepers sometimes burn the dead, and, if possible, induce some of the meaner class of Brâhmans to mutter a few spells while they burn the corpse themselves.

56. The subsequent ceremonies are more or less elaborate according to the means of the family. Thus, among the Shaikh Mehtars of Benares, according to Mr. Greeven, in the morning of the third day after the funeral, the clansmen, male and female, are collected at the house of the deceased, and a vessel is handed round containing sweetmeats, rose-water, and betel. In Musalmân households the children recite the Kalima, and count grains of the chick pea, like the beads of a rosary, to the name of the Almighty. On the same evening the clansmen with their women are feasted on boiled rice. No ceremonies are observed on the tenth (*daswín*) or twentieth (*bíswín*) day after death. On the fortieth day (*chehlam, châliswân*) the spirit of the departed, which has hitherto haunted the death chamber, is expelled in the following way :—The relatives, male and female, are feasted till about 11 P.M. An earthen vessel, half filled with water, is deposited, with bread, a few sweetmeats, and some boiled pulse, under a bedstead. Over this bedstead the sweepers from the Nawâb's territory, as defined above, require the custodian of the grave to extend the sheet, which he has retained as described already. Over this, with Musalmâns, some low-class

mendicant, usually the custodian of the cemetery, repeats the Kalima or creed, while with Nânakpanthis the Bâbaji recites from the sacred volume (*granth*). At 4 A.M., as the mendicant ceases, the male relations should proceed to the cemetery, fling the earthen vessel upon the grave, and depart, leaving the provisions with the sheet, in the case of Nawâbi sweepers, to the custodian as his perquisite. The terror of ghosts usually prevents this rite being duly performed, and in most cases they content themselves with breaking the vessel at the cross roads, and when it has once been broken the ghost is released.

57. In Benares the Helas and the Shaikhs do the *tîja* and *barsi* rites, for the propitiation of the dead, like Musalmâns. The Lâl Begis and Ghâzipuri Râwats offer water for ten days. The vessel (*hânri*) containing water with a hole in the bottom is hung on a pîpal tree. They observe the *pitrapaksha* or fortnight of the dead. The worshipper stands in running water and offers some to his deceased ancestors. Some offer a kind of *pinda* or sacred ball of rice. No Brâhman takes part in this kind of *srâddha*. In fact, though Bhangis assert the fact, it does not appear certain that Brâhmans superintend any of their ceremonies. In the absence of a Brâhman, the son, grandson, or brother of the deceased officiates. Though it is said not to be so among the Benares Bhangis, it seems to be usual to give the preference to the son-in-law or sister's son in performing the death ceremonies.

Religion.

58. The religion of the sweepers is a curious mixture of various faiths. Some, as we have seen, profess to be Hindus, others Musalmâns, and others Sikhs. But though these two latter religions avowedly preach the equality of all men, they refuse to recognise sweepers as brethren in the faith. In Benares the Râwats are said to be as bad Hindus as the Shaikhs are indifferent Muhammadans, and the Chaudhari of Helas could say only that he professed the Hela religion. But the experience of the last Panjâb Census has shown the impossibility of classing their beliefs under any one definite creed. Some ninety-five per cent of the Chûhras of the Province did, it is true, record themselves as professing some religion which might be assumed to be peculiar to them, such as Lâl Begi, Bâlmîki, or Bâlashâhi; but, as Mr. Maclagan observes[1]:—"While there is no doubt that we should be complying with Hindu feeling in excluding the Chûhra from the list of Hindus, should we also exclude the

[1] *Punjâb Census Report*, 90.

Chamâr? And, if the Chamâr, why not the Sânsi? And should the Gâgra, the Megh, and the Khatîk follow? And, in fact, where is the line to be drawn? In the absence of any clear decision on this point, it will be best to adhere to the present system and include all as Hindus." At the last Census of these provinces 2,65,967 persons recorded themselves as votaries of Lâl Beg. To the east of the province many are worshippers of the Pânchon Pîr. To the west Shaikh Saddu and Guru Nânak are worshipped. We have already given some of the legends connected with the tribal saint Lâl Beg. Gûga or Zâhir Pîr is again held in high respect by the sweepers of the Western Districts. They consider that he cures the blind, lunatics, and lepers, and has the power of bestowing offspring on barren wives. His shrine is a small, round building, with a courtyard and flags hung from a neighbouring tree. On the shrine is laid a leaf platter containing a chip of the wood of the *pîlu* tree (*Careya arborea*), a flower of the *karîl* or caper bush, and some *bâjra* millet. The tomb is then rubbed with sandalwood, and this substance is considered a cure for various diseases. A goat is sometimes offered at a neighbouring shrine known as Gorakhnâth kâ qila; and every Lâlbegi erects in his house a standard (*nishân*) in the form of a trident (*trisûl*) in honor of Zâhir Pîr. In the eastern parts of these provinces, where distance overcomes the zeal for pilgrimage, it is usual for the Bhangis to carry round the sacred symbol of the Pîr in the month of Bhâdon, and raise contributions.

59. Ghâzi Miyân, again, is a favourite object of worship by Bhangis. They have corrupted the standard legend of the saint into a mass of extraordinary hagiology. According to one version Mâmal and her father Sarsa fled from Delhi to Ghazni on account of the tyranny of Prithivi Râja. There Salâr Sâhu married Mâmal, and Sarsa managed to persuade Sultân Mahmûd to attack Prithivi Râja. His tomb at Bahrâich is a favourite place of Bhangi pilgrimage. The Dafâli priests of the tomb perform all the rites. One of them wears the figure of a horse on his waist; others follow him in a wild dance, singing the praises of Shâh Madâr. All this is in commemoration of the marriage of Ghâzi Miyân, which is said to have taken place the day before his martyrdom.

60. Bhangis, again, have an army of local deities, such as in Lucknow, Kâle Gora, Baram Gusâîn, Narsinha, and Buddhi Prasâdi. They believe largely in various evil spirits, the Bhût, the Deo, the Bîr, the Râkshasa, and the Churel. They observe, if

Hindus, the festivals of the faith, such as the Diwâli, Ghâzi Miyân kâ byâh, the Basant, 'Id, and Muharram, which are all observed by the Lâl Begis of Benares; while the Ghâzipuri Râwats celebrate the Pachainyân, the Diwâli, the Dithwan, the Khichari, the Holi, and Ghâzi Miyân kâ byâh. The Helas observe the Holi, the Muharram, and the marriage of Ghâzi Miyân, and the Shaikh Mehtars, the last, with the ordinary feasts of Islâm. The common oaths in use are *Parameswar qasm* and *Khuda qasm*. The Lâl Begis also swear by their patron saint. They plaster a place with cow-dung, place a vessel of water inside it with a copy of the genealogy (*kursi*), and the person swearing faces the Ka'ba and swears with the book in his hand.

Social rules.

61. Among the Hindu Bhangis of Lucknow, the women cannot wear the boddice (*angiya*), chemisette (*kurti*), or gold ornaments, and do not bore the nose for a ring. Muhammadan Bhangi women do not wear gold ornaments or sky-blue (*asmâni*) or lac bangles (*chûri*). The use of brass ornaments is considered unlucky, but those of alloy are allowed. They prefer earthen to metal cooking vessels, and no Bhangi will plant the *ber* tree (*zizyphus jujuba*) or the bamboo before his door. The elder brother cannot touch the wife of his younger brother, and he can eat with no woman but his own sister. If he touch a Dom he must purify himself before doing any other work. He will not eat food touched by a Dom or Dhobi, and the husband and wife will not mention each other by their names. Of all tribes the Dom, though he is admitted to be akin to the Bhangi, is held in particular abhorrence. Their rules of food vary with the religion they profess. Thus, Shaikh Mehtars will not eat pork, and some of the Hindu Bhangis will not eat beef. The Helas profess to eat the leavings of only high caste Hindus. No Bhangi, it appears, will eat monkeys, uncloven footed animals, scaleless fish, crocodiles, lizards, snakes, jackals, rats, or other vermin. The Lâl Begis salute in the form *Râm! Râm! Yâdallâh!* and *Hardam Allâh!* To elders, they say *Salâm!* or *Satnâmko!* Brâhmans they salute with *Mahârâj!* or *Pâlagan*. The Ghâzipuri Râwats and Helas salute everybody with *Râm! Râm!* with the exception of Musalmâns, to whom they say *salâm* or *bandagi;* and *pâlagan* to Brâhmans. Shaikhs use the word *salâm* only.

Occupation.

62. The occupations of the Bhangi are manifold. Speaking of the scavenger tribes of the Panjâb, Mr. Ibbetson says:—"Socially they are the lowest of the

low, even lower perhaps than the vagrant Sânsi, and the gipsy Nat, and, as a rule, they can hardly be said to stand even at the foot of the social ladder, though some sections of the tribe have mounted the first one or two steps. Their hereditary profession is scavengering, sweeping the houses and streets, working up, carrying to the fields and distributing manure, and in cities and village houses, where the women are strictly secluded, removing night soil. They keep those impure animals, pigs, and fowls; they and the leather-workers alone eat the flesh of animals who have died of disease or by a natural death. Together with the vagrants and gypsies they are the hereditary workers in grass and reeds, from which they make winnowing fans and other articles used in agriculture." In these Provinces their occupation is to remove filth, to sweep the houses and roads, to play on the flute or tambourine (*shahnai daf*) at marriages and other social occasions. They also conduct what is called the *roshanchauki* at marriages, or when solemn vows (*mannat*) are made. Some of them are noted for their musical ability. The Hela makes winnowing fans and sieves (*súp, chhalni*), and some of the Shaikhs are collectors and appliers of leeches. The Bânsphor makes baskets, mats, etc. The Dhânuks are fowlers and watchmen. They serve in the bands of native princes, and their women are midwives. To the west of the Province the Dhês, a class of Lâl Begis, act as hangmen and killers of pariah dogs. The Dhânuks and Bânsphors will not remove night-soil, and the Shaikhs will not do this work at public latrines. Their implements are the broom (*jhárú*) and the rib bone of an ox (*panja*), with which they scrape up filth. Many of them are the hereditary priests of Sîtala, and arrange the offerings of pigs released at her shrine; others serve Bhûmiya and similar local godlings. As a rule Bhangi women bear an indifferent character.

63. In some places Bhangis are true village menials and receive a patch of rent-free land or some allowances at harvest in return for their services. In our cities, particularly in places like Mirzapur, where they are not numerous, they are much given to combination among themselves. They resent the settlement of new members of the tribe and allot the houses of the residents into certain beats (*halqa, iláqa*) each of which is served by a Bhangi and his wife. They call the occupants of such houses their "parishioners" (*jajmán*), and fiercely resent the intrusion of any strange Bhangi within the beat; in fact most of the cases which come before the council relate

to disputes of this kind. There is also a distinct local organisation among them. Thus in the Districts about Benares the Ghâzipuri Râwats are divided into four great local sections, each of which has its own subordinate council. These four are the jurisdiction of the Chaudhari of the city of Benares; the Ghâzipur Chaudhari of the Kaswâr mat or *chatâi*, which is the technical term for the jurisdiction; the Karsara Chaudhari of the Kariyâr *chatâi*, who lives at Karsara near Chunâr in the Mirzapur District; and fourthly, the Sanapur Chaudhari of the Chauâlîs *chatâi* in Azamgarh. The last is by far the most influential of the four. It appears that the *chatâi* never meets as a body except to discuss some very important question affecting the sub-caste as a whole.

Distribution of the Bhangis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bâlmîki.	Dhânuk.	Hela.	Lâl Begi.	Pattharphor.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn .	59	...	...	746	...	2,662	...	3,467
Saharanpur .	95	...	72	6,057	...	23,890	5	30,119
Muzaffarnagar	378	258	...	16,128	...	13,093	...	29,857
Meerut . .	4,770	...	...	30,297	...	23,402	91	58,560
Bulandshahr .	...	...	...	2,859	...	27,939	...	30,798
Aligarh . .	...	...	64	8,228	766	20,186	...	29,244
Mathura. .	...	14	57	1,231	...	11,953	31	13,286
Agra . .	...	...	...	10,707	47	5,031	663	16,430
Farrukhâbâd .	...	...	...	5,840	53	1,259	3	7,155
Mainpuri .	...	...	...	8,870	484	682	...	10,036
Etâwah . .	...	...	1,069	4,042	127	913	45	6,196
Etah . .	27	...	8	4,612	4,662	4,042	...	13,351
Bareilly . .	...	...	...	8,925	...	5,807	...	14,732
Bijnor . .	463	...	...	11,399	...	1,286	...	13,148
Budâun . .	...	...	...	...	...	17,337	...	17,337
Morâdâbâd .	32	210	...	11,199	...	13,187	14	24,642
Shâhjahânpur .	...	...	...	5,146	53	2,409	225	7,833
Pilibhît . .	...	1	...	3,200	...	1,170	8	4,379
Cawnpur .	...	65	392	3,698	...	2,356	63	6,574

Distribution of the Bhangis according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Bâlmîki.	Dhânuk.	Hela.	Lâl Begi.	Patharphor.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Fatehpur .	...	222	556	33	2	3,016	46	3,875
Bânda . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	11
Hamirpur .	...	...	139	...	...	183	41	363
Allahâbâd .	...	...	1,790	556	...	6,359	644	9,349
Jhânsi . .	...	...	36	1,444	72	826	180	2,558
Jâlaun . .	...	...	...	951	...	1,326	531	2,808
Lalitpur .	...	...	...	123	...	455	133	711
Benares . .	...	...	...	144	...	1,126	812	2,082
Mirzapur .	...	...	144	13	...	378	930	1,465
Jaunpur . .	...	...	...	...	...	15	1,751	1,766
Ghazipur .	...	...	...	...	...	1,360	477	1,837
Ballia . .	...	...	...	...	...	1,348	120	1,468
Gorakhpur .	...	...	300	38	...	1,466	2,025	3,829
Basti . .	...	...	...	...	...	2,315	1,095	3,410
Azamgarh .	...	...	...	...	...	13	1,772	1,785
Kumaun .	...	...	...	...	...	692	...	692
Garhwâl . .	...	...	...	...	...	126	...	126
Tarâi . .	275	...	...	2,116	...	390	...	2,781
Lucknow .	...	675	313	766	...	2,867	1,424	6,045
Unâo . .	...	798	457	8	...	390	20	1,673
Râé Bareli .	...	...	480	...	...	693	14	1,187
Sitapur . .	6	39	...	2,747	...	1,186	305	4,283
Hardoi . .	...	...	...	4,496	...	1,027	...	5,523
Kheri . .	...	...	...	3,522	18	557	84	4,181
Faizâbâd .	...	5	654	417	...	426	1,212	2,714
Gonda . .	...	...	685	932	...	246	130	1,993
Bahrâich .	...	1	...	809	...	687	586	2,083
Sultânpur .	...	...	761	...	...	1,145	593	2,499
Partâbgarh .	...	...	...	4	...	1,553	433	1,990
Bârabanki .	...	...	...	1,446	...	35	818	2,301
Total .	6,105	2,288	7,977	1,63,751	6,284	210,792	17,335	4,14,532

Bhântu, Bhâtu.—A criminal tribe found chiefly in Rohilkhand and Oudh. They are merely one branch of the Sânsiya tribe, known elsewhere as Beriya, Hâbura, or Kanjar. The derivation of the word is uncertain. Some connect it with Bhât, as some Sânsiyas act as bards or genealogists to some Râjputs and Jâts: others say it comes from *bhânti* (Sanskrit, *bhinna*, "broken"), with reference to the miscellaneous elements of which they are composed. There is a tribe of the same name in Central India who are also known as Dumar or Kolhâti, who are wandering athletes and worship Nârâyan and the bamboo, with which all their feats are accomplished. When they bury their dead they place rice and oil at the head of the grave, and draw the happiest omens of the state of the departed from crows visiting the spot.[1]

2. The Bhântus of these Provinces follow exactly the customs of the kindred tribes of Beriya, Hâbûra and Sânsiya.

Distribution of the Bhântus according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Agra	3	Ghâzipur . . .	12
Bareilly . . .	17	Kheri . . .	9
Budâun . . .	98	Sultânpur . . .	231
Morâdâbâd . . .	2		
		Total .	372

[1] Balfour; *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N. S. XIII.; Gunthorpe, *Notes on Criminal Tribes*, 46, *sqq.*; Rowney, *wild Tribes*, 21.

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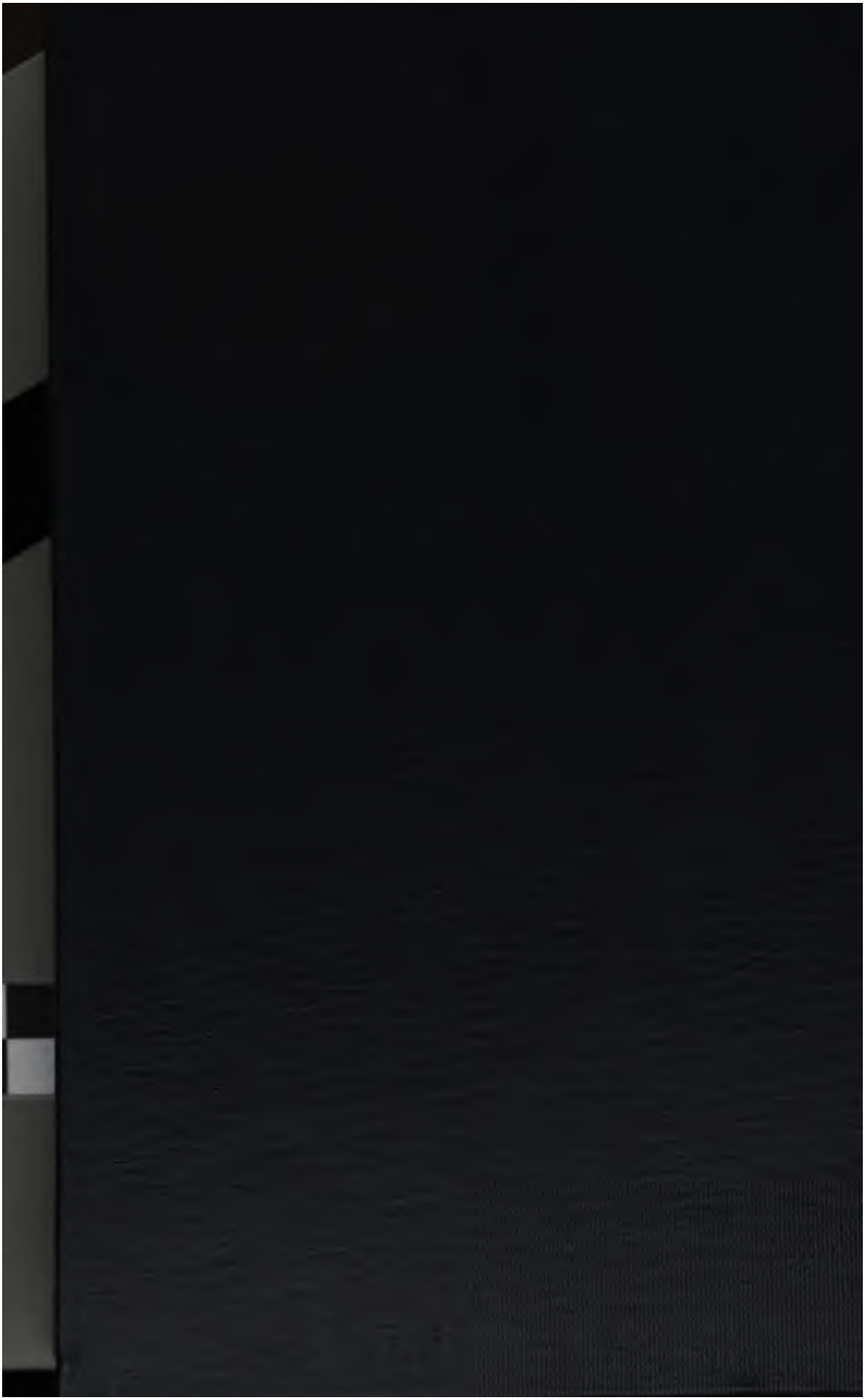
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